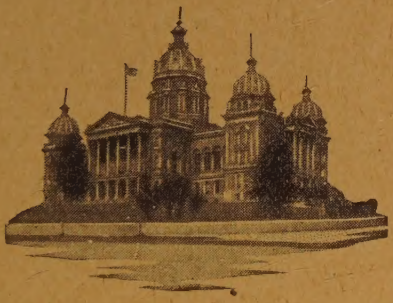
THIRD SERIES VOL. XVIII, No. 4

APRIL, 1932

(Owing to the World War there were no copies issued from October, 1915, until April, 1920.)

ANNALS OF IOWA

A HISTORICAL QUARTERLY



PUBLISHED BY THE

HISTORICAL, MEMORIAL AND ART DEPARTMENT OF IOWA

EDGAR R. HARLAN, *Curator*

PRICE $1.00 PER YEAR SINGLE NUMBER 25 CENTS

DES MOINES, IOWA

Entered as second class matter July 8, 1920, at the post office at Des Moines, Iowa, under the Act of August 24, 1912.

ANNALS OF IOWA

CONTENTS FOR APRIL, 1932

Miscellaneous

Page

Dr. Isaac H. Harriott 243
By F. I. Herriott

William Salter—Philomathian 295
By Philip D. Jordan

Editorial

William Louden, Inventor and Manufacturer 313

The Vernon Woolen Factory 314

Notable Deaths 315

Illustrations

Dr. Isaac H. Harriott (Portrait) Frontispiece

Map showing the locations of the Spirit Lake Massacre 252

The Causeway between East and West Okoboji 258

Hon. Henry M. Rice (Portrait) 266

Hon. William Freeborn (Portrait) 266

Dr. William A. Sweney (Portrait) 266

Reproduction of first and last pages of Dr. I. H. Harriott's letter of Dec. 11, 1856 288, 289

Facsimile of program of Philomathian Society of March 11, 1840 307

Facsimile of first page of the original manuscript of Dr. Salter's poem "Eloise" 309



DR. ISAAC H. HARRIOTT

One of the founders of Spirit Lake, Iowa, killed by the Sioux Indians, Sunday, March 8, 1857.

ANNALS OF IOWA

VOL. XVIII, No. 4 DES MOINES, IOWA, APRIL, 1932 THIRD SERIES

DR. ISAAC H. HARRIOTT

ONE OF THE VICTIMS OF THE SPIRIT LAKE MASSACRE, KILLED ON THE EVENING OF SUNDAY, MARCH 8, 1857

BY F. I. HERRIOTT
Professor in Drake University

"They who live in history only seemed
to walk the earth again."
—Longfellow, The Belfry of Bruges.

I

The pioneers of Iowa were almost—but not quite—exempt from the terrors of Indian warfare in the settlement of the Mesopotamia of North America. They pushed forward heedlessly across the "Father of Waters" into fertile valleys and upon verdant prairies and staked out their claims with little dread lest their daily routine would be disturbed, or their lives endangered by the hideous war cries of Indians seeking booty and scalps. Their peace and blissful assumptions, however, were ruthlessly disturbed twice—in March, 1857, and five years later, in August, 1862—the first time when general peace seemed secure, and the second time when the country was in the throes of the Civil War.

On the evening of Sunday, March 8, 1857, a band of Santee Sioux Indians under the leadership of an outlaw chief, Inkpaduta, "Scarlet Point" or "Red Head," attacked and killed the white settlers who had staked out claims and built cabins between East and West Okoboji, north and south of the strait. The next day and for the week following Inkpaduta's band proceeded with their murdering of the settlers on the east and west shores of Spirit Lake. Thence the Indians veered over to the valley of the Des Moines River some seven or eight miles northeast, proceeding up to Heron Lake, whence returning down stream,

they spread murder, rapine and terror in Jackson County, Minnesota, in and about the settlement of Springfield, or Des Moines City (now Jackson), ten miles above the state line.

On the Iowa side of the state line some forty men, women and children were brutally murdered—a number in an utterly abominable manner—and four women led into captivity; two of whom, however, were killed later—one shot while struggling in the water into which she had been tripped and thrown, and the other clubbed to death. Seven were killed at or near Springfield and three seriously wounded. The dire distress of the captives or fugitive settlers was frightfully increased by the deep snow, low temperature and harsh, biting winds.

In 1894 the state of Iowa by legislative action ordered a marble shaft to commemorate the lives of the victims and of the members of the three companies of the Relief Expedition which left Webster City and Fort Dodge to rescue the survivors. The monument was located in front of the Gardner cabin where the tragedy started on that fateful Sunday evening. On the bronze tablet on the east side of the shaft are inscribed the names of the forty known victims of the tragedy.

The seventh name on that bronze plaque in the alphabetical order is that of Isaac H. Harriott.[1] In all accounts, contemporary or later, his name is almost invariably mentioned, usually conspicuously, and anon with complimentary comments. Save in one instance, little or nothing was given about his character or career.

The records giving us data of the life of Isaac H. Harriott are few and meager as to details; and probably not much more can be discovered if an extensive and numerous cor-

[1]In both contemporary accounts of the Spirit Lake Massacre and later annals or histories in which the event is described the name is variously spelled. The correct spelling is seen on the bronze tablet referred to and here followed. In the first reports of the tragedy in the *Daily Pioneer and Democrat* of St. Paul in a letter dated at Red Wing, March 20, but not published until April 24, 1857, it was given "Harriett." In *Goodhue County, Minnesota, Past and Present*, by An Old Pioneer (Rev. J. W. Hancock), p. 96, the spelling is "Harriet." A. R. Fulton in his *Red Men of Iowa*, 1882, p. 305, gives us "Harriot." Irving B. Richman in his "The Tragedy at Minne-Waukon" follows Fulton, see his *John Brown Among the Quakers*, pp. 214-216. B. F. Gue in his *History of Iowa*, 1906, Vol. I, spells it "Herriott," as does Thomas Hughes in a paper in *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, Vol. XII, 1908, p. 271, entitled "Causes and Results of the Inkpaduta Massacre." Mr. MacKinlay Kantor in his poem, "The Snow of the Okoboji," in *The Midland*, Vol. XII for December, 1926, gives it "Herriott," pp. 356-7, but in Braithwaite's *Anthology of Magazine Verse for 1927* (Boston) Mr. Kantor amended it to read "Harriott," pp. 187-8. Mrs. Abbie Gardner Sharp, *History of the Spirit Lake Massacre*, invariably spells the name "Harriott" which is the correct spelling as may be seen in the photographic reproduction of the last page of his letter of December 11, 1856, opposite page 288 herein.

respondence in search warrants any presumptions. A few facts, however, are clear and substantial. Harry Harriott, as Mrs. Abbie Gardner Sharp, recalling her girlhood memories, affectionately described him,[2] was a young "man of parts," to use an old-time phrase. His antecedent family and collateral business connections were noteworthy. His ability and character were marked. His ambitions in professional and other lines were worthy. His personality was attractive and philanthropic and left memories that associates treasured as the years increased. His courage in the crisis of his life when stark tragedy confronted him was clear-cut and convincing, leaving his parents, his associates, and connections a record to be proud of and one which chroniclers of man's progress and lovers of courage are ever fond to relate in generous phrase.

In the ensuing sections of this narrative I shall present:

First, a summary of contemporary and latter-day references to young Harriott's part in the hideous tragedy on the shores of the Okobojis, reflecting the appraisal of his character by confreres and by annalists of the state;

Second, an epitome of the biographical data available and an outline of the project in which young Harriott was engaged that brought him to the shores of the Okobojis;

Third, the presentation for the first time of sundry letters written by Isaac Harriott in 1855 and 1856 describing more or less his experiences in the preliminaries of his major project at Spirit Lake, conditions thereabouts just prior to the Massacre together with two letters of his father, Judge James Harriott, the first written the day on which he first heard of the reported murder of his son, and the second after he had visited the scene of the tragedy, identified his son's body and given it a proper burial;

Fourth, a synopsis of the antecedent conditions, currents and historical causes leading up to the Massacre on the Mini-Wakan, as Nicollet, the explorer and map-maker, gives it;

Fifth, an outline of the immediate factors and forces converging and precipitating the tragedy and the alleged responsibility of the white settlers therefor;

Sixth, somewhat of the aftermath of the Massacre.

It is not within either my wish or purpose to deal at length

[2]Sharp, *Ibid.*, *p.* 129.

with the minutia or *personalia* in the beginnings and course of the tragedy at Spirit Lake, nor to set forth the gruesome details of the brutal butchery of the men, women and children, for all these have been given with ample particularity by various writers.[3] The immediate relations of Isaac H. Harriott to the frightful catastrophe in the habitat of the Demons, Mini-Wakan, both comprehend and circumscribe my objective.

II

The first authentic news of the Spirit Lake Massacre reached Charles E. Flandrau, agent for the Lower Sioux, then near Fort Ridgely, on March 18, 1857, and the next day he had secured the dispatch of a company of the Tenth U. S. Infantry under Captain Barnard E. Bee to the scene of the disaster. The news did not reach Fort Dodge, Iowa, until Saturday, March 20.[4] The Relief Expedition under Major William Williams, consisting of one company from Webster City and two from Fort Dodge, did not get started until the 24th.

The first published reports seem to have been in *The Daily Pioneer and Democrat* of St. Paul, March 25, 26. The first report in Iowa seems to have been in the *Des Moines Citizen*, about April 2.[5] The Dubuque *Express and Herald* for April 8

[3]See *History of the Spirit Lake Massacre*, by Abbie Gardner Sharp, 1885; *History of Dickinson County*, by R. A. Smith, 1902; *John Brown Among the Quakers*, by Irving B. Richman, 1894; *The Spirit Lake Massacre*, by Thomas Teakle, 1918; and articles or addresses by C. C. Carpenter and Harvey Ingham in the *Midland Monthly*, Vol. IV, 1895, pp. 17-31, 269-272; by C. C. Carpenter, John F. Duncomb, Charles B. Richards, John N. Maxwell, Frank R. Mason, Michael Sweney and W. K. Laughlin in the ANNALS OF IOWA, Third Series, Vol. III, pp. 481-545; Harris Hoover, *Ibid.*, Vol. V, pp. 14-26; C. E. Flandreau in *Collections of Minnesota Historical Society*, Vol. III, p. 386; Thomas Hughes, *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. 262-282; and "The Spirit Lake Massacre," by George W. Crossley, in the *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers*, Vol. VI, pp. 885-919.

[4]I have just come upon three different dates for the arrival of the first news of the Massacre at Fort Dodge: The *Express and Herald* of Dubuque contains two letters dated at Fort Dodge dealing with the reported Indian attack, the first signed by "M" under date of March 20, and the second by "Garaghty," March 22. Mr. John F. Duncombe in his "Memorial Address" at Webster City, August 12, 1887, gives the date as Saturday, March 21—ANNALS OF IOWA, Third Series, Vol. III, p. 495. Governor Carpenter also says it was March 21 when the news came—*Midland Monthly*, Vol. IV, p. 26. R. A. Smith in his *History of Dickinson County* declares it was on Sunday, March 22. As Messrs. Duncombe and Smith were each in the Relief Expedition we may suspect that the word got to Fort Dodge on the 20th, but the public generally did not realize it until the 21st.

Since the foregoing paragraph was written I have come upon two other possible dates when the first word of the Massacre reached Fort Dodge. Major William Williams, who commanded the Spirit Lake Relief Expedition, in his series entitled "Historical Sketches of Northwestern Iowa" in *The Iowa North West* for June 5, 1867, says two men, Abner Bell and J. M. Williams, brought a report of the Indian outrages on the Little Sioux River, but "The statements made by these men were so extravagant that the majority of the people were disposed to discredit them. Soon after on the 18th or 19th of March two men arrived, a Mr. Howe and a Mr. Snyder of Newton, Iowa, who reported the horrid massacre."

[5]Excerpts reprinted in *Daily Muscatine Journal*, April 8, 1857.

contains two letters from Fort Dodge under date of March 20, and 22. But no personal details are given. A letter written at Red Wing, Minnesota, under a printed date of March 20, 1857, but obviously a misprint for April 20 and not published until April 24, contains the following:

Red Wing, March 20, '57.

Last evening Mr. H. W. Granger,[6] who left this place about the first of April, for his residence at Spirit Lake, Iowa, returned, accompanied by Geo. C. Granger, of Emmet City, Iowa. By them I am informed of several facts in relation to the Indian outrages in that vicinity. What is stated can be relied upon.

In relation to the origin of the difficulty, nothing is known; the various accounts we have had are mere conjecture. In the latter days of February, and about the first of March, on the Little Sioux River, about 80 miles south of the north boundary of Iowa, a band of Sioux (about 18 lodges) headed by Inkpaduta, a renegade from the Wahpay-kutah band at Faribault, easily recognized by his large and distorted canine teeth, aided and abetted by Utanka-sapa (Black Buffalo) a brother of Sleepy-Eyes, commenced their depredations by robbing of provisions, &c., and mistreating the women. This they continued up the river to the source, Spirit Lake. The first murder they committed, as far as known, was at Gardner's,[7] at Spirit Lake. Mr. G's family consisted of himself, wife, and three children—two daughters and a son. Mr. and Mrs. G. and the boy were killed; one daughter, aged about 15, was taken prisoner;[8] the other was fortunately at Springfield, in this Territory, at the time of the massacre, and is now at Major Williams' at Fort Dodge, Iowa. In the same house, or an addition thereto, resided Mr. Luce,[9] wife and two children, Mrs. Luce being a daughter of the Gardner's. Mr. Luce was from home; his wife and children were killed. From indications, this was done on the 7th of March, the bodies being covered with snow which fell on the 8th, and the bodies being discovered on the 9th.

The next place attacked was Mr. Mattock's,[10] distant about a mile from Gardner's—supposed from the absence of snow on the bodies to have been on the afternoon of the 8th ult. Mr. M's family consisted of himself, wife and five children, and a Mr. Matteson,[11] who boarded with him. About 100 rods from Mattock's across the outlet of the lake, was the house in which Mr. Granger, Snyder and Harriett re-

[6]An associate of Dr. Harriott in the Land Company of Red Wing to be dealt with later.

[7]Mr. Rowland Gardner.

[8]Abbie Gardner—later Mrs. Casville Sharp.

[9]Mr. Harvey Luce, son-in-law of Rowland Gardner.

[10]James H. Mattock, an emigrant from Delaware County, Iowa.

[11]This name does not appear in any account which I have seen. It may be that it was a misprint for Robert Madison. See list of dead near the Mattock cabin in Smith's *History of Dickinson County*, p. 88, or Teakle's *The Spirit Lake Massacre*, p. 106.

sided. From indications, it would appear that Granger,[12] Harriett, and Jos. Harshman,[13] (a young man who lived with Mr. Granger, of Emmett City, and who left Mr. G's on the 7th to visit the young men) proceeded to the assistance of the Mattock's family, leaving B. Snyder[14] to defend their own residence, to which they designed bringing the women and children; at least the position they were found in justifies this conclusion. The women and children were some distance from their own home, apparently running on the path to Snyder's; the men were found between them and the house from which they fled. Mr. Harriett was in a sitting posture in the snow, his Sharp's rifle broken, and a Colt's revolver in his hand, only one charge having been fired. The men were all killed within a short distance of each other. The women and children lay in the direction of the house before mentioned. Mr. Snyder was found before his own door. Everything indicated a severe fight. With free space, and a good Sharp's rifle, he must have did [sic] the villains some damage. From appearances in the snow three Indians fell.

It is somewhat strange that the Sharp's guns and Colt's revolvers were not taken. They are all numbered, but what could an Indian know of that?

* * * * * *

Later that same year there was published in New Brittain, Conn., a brochure entitled: *History of the Spirit Lake Massacre, 8th of March, 1857, and of Miss Abigail Gardner's Three months in Captivity Among the Indians, According to her own account, as Given to L. P. Lee.* It was a summary in rather fanciful literary rhetoric of sundry interviews with Miss Gardner as to her experiences. Col. Lee happened to be in the Fuller Hotel, St. Paul, when Miss Gardner was released from her captivity into Governor Medary's hands and was detailed to escort her back to her relatives in Iowa, accompanying her down the river to Dubuque, thence to Fort Dodge where he handed her over to Major William Williams. One paragraph in that narrative (pp. 31-32) is curious:

The persons whom they burried were * * * * * Dr. Harriott, son of Dr. Harriott of Indiana [sic], J. H. Cropper, supposed by some to be one of the Grangers; * * * * * All these bodies were found lying where they had fallen, except that of Dr. Harriott, which was leaning up against a tree with a rifle in his hands. Miss Gardner says it was so placed by the Indians for a ruse, that it might seem as if resistance had been made by the whites. So little resistance, however, had in fact

[12]Carl Granger, brother of W. H. Granger, associated with Dr. Harriott in the Red Wing Land Site Company.
[13]A trapper concerning whom little appears to be known.
[14]Bertell Snyder, an associate of Dr. Harriott.

been made, that no Indian was injured except one who received a slight wound on his leg.

Col. Lee's narrative is a rather confused affair. Its worth is impaired by excessive fine writing. His notes of his interviews must have been confused in regard to various items. Indiana was not Dr. Harriott's home state. No other narrative contains the name of J. H. Cropper. We may scout the truth of the reported "ruse" of the Indians. Mrs. Sharp does not repeat the story in her *History*.

Recalling his experiences as lieutenant of Company C of the Spirit Lake Relief Expedition under command of Major William Williams at the unveiling of the bronze tablet in the Court House of Webster City, August 12, 1887, John N. Maxwell, later of Newton, Iowa, said:

> The next place was Mr. Mattock's. Here we found eleven dead bodies. * * * * * At this place it seemed to me that the only man who fought the Indians was Dr. Harriott, who formerly lived at Waterloo[?]. He made a heroic defense, probably killing or wounding two or three Indians. He was falling back towards Granger's, evidently defending the women and the children when he was finally shot himself. He still grasped his Sharp's rifle, which was empty, and broken off at the breech, showing that he had fallen in a hand-to-hand fight. I have little idea that any other man about the lake fired a gun at the Indians. It was simply a surprise and a butchery.[15]

Perhaps the tradition in Iowa is best indicated in the pages of Mr. Gue who gave us the first substantial general history of the state in a "Historical Sketch" published in 1899, and in his formal *History* in four volumes in 1906. His recital is vivid, in no small measure due to the fact that he was a contemporary of the actors in the tragedy, living for many years at Fort Dodge and revelling in the memories of the pioneers who knew either the victims or the members of the Relief Expedition. From his "Sketch" I take the following:

> The pioneers who first erected a cabin in the beautiful grove on the shores of Lake Okoboji were Rowland Gardner and Harvey Luce, his son-in-law. * * * * * A short time after their arrival four young men from Red Wing, Minnesota, came and camped on the narrow strip of land separating East and West Okoboji lakes. They were Dr. I. H. Harriott, Bertell Snyder, William and Carl Granger. They were the

[15] ANNALS OF IOWA, Third Series, Vol. III, p. 529.

first white men to paddle a canoe on these lakes.[16] They were so enchanted with the beauty of the country that each took a claim near the lakes, and together they built a cabin on a peninsula, since named Smith's Point. * * * * *

As the family sat down to an early breakfast the cabin door was opened and fourteen fierce Sioux Indians walked in, led by Inkpadutah. At first they professed friendship and called for food. When they had eaten all in the house they undertook to seize the guns and ammunition, but Luce and Clark resisted them, and a most unequal struggle began. At this moment Dr. Harriott and Carl Snyder came in, and seeing five determined men, the savages quieted down and again seemed friendly. But Mr. Gardner was not deceived; he realized that the entire settlement was in great danger and quietly urged the young men to slip away and notify all of the settlers to come immediately to his house with their arms, as his cabin was the largest and strongest for defense. But Harriott and Snyder thought there was no danger, and after waiting awhile started off towards their cabin.

* * * * *

At the Mattock house a brave resistance was made. When the attack began, Dr. Harriott and Bert Snyder seized their guns and hastened to the assistance of their neighbors. But outnumbered, as they were, five to one, by the Sioux warriors, there was no chance for a successful defense. The five men fought with the desperation of despair to protect the women and children and their own lives. But one by one they fell before the rifles and clubs of the well armed savages. * * * * * When Abbie Gardner was dragged to this spot, the mangled bodies of five men, two women and several children were lying in the bloodstained snow, while the shrieks of other children roasting in the flames of the burning house made up a picture of horrors too hideous to be described. A careful examination of this vicinity later by the party who buried the dead throws some light on the struggle here. It appeared that Dr. Harriott and Bert Snyder from their cabin

[16]Mr. Gue follows Mrs. Abbie Gardner Sharp's *History*, p. 43, and he repeats it in his *History of Iowa*, Vol. I, p. 296. The assertion is subject to question. We may assume without much hesitation that the bateaux and canoes of French voyageurs, and mayhap, the members of Nicollet and Fremont's surveying party in the late 1830's glided over the rippling waves of the blue waters of the three lakes.

This assumption is greatly enhanced by the fact that many of the notable early maps of the upper Mississippi and Missouri valleys show clearly marked trade routes and trappers' or Indian trails passing near Spirit Lake, Lac D'Esprit or Desprit as Clark's map has it. Thus LeSueur's map of 1701 shows us a *Chemin des Voyageurs* starting near the mouth of the Wisconsin and running straight west, passing a short distance below Spirit Lake and on to the Little Sioux. De Lisle's map of 1703, Le Grand's of 1720, and Law's of 1724 indicate the same route; and Thomas Jeffery's of 1762 marks an "Indian Track" starting from Fort L'Huillier on the Minnesota River and passing southwest by Spirit Lake to the Missouri. William Clark's map of 1814 traces an "Old Route" from Spirit Lake to the Missouri. Nicollet's map constructed between 1836 and 1842 contains tracings of two clearly marked trails that converge or start at Spirit Lake—the westward one going slightly northeast, then veering to the west to Traverse des Sioux on the Minnesota River; and the other trail running nearly east, slightly north, then sharply straight north going apparently to the vicinity of Fort Snelling. All of the maps mentioned save Le Grand's and Nicollet's may be found in either Niell's *History of Minnesota* and Doane Robinson's "History of the Dakota Sioux Indians," *South Dakota Historical Collections*, Vol. II.

had heard the guns and the shrieks of the women and children when the attack began at Mattock's. Regardless of their own safety the brave young men seized their rifles and hastened to the defense of their neighbors. At the first fire Dr. Harriott laid out one of the Sioux, then rushing into the thickest of the fight the two brave young men shattered their empty guns over the heads of the savages in a hand to hand fight. But the contest was too unequal; five men against twenty or more Sioux warriors were soon killed.[17]

In their narrative of "The Inkpaduta Massacre of 1857" in their *Minnesota in Three Centuries—1655-1908* Messrs. Hubbard and Holcombe have the following which confirms the widespread tradition that Isaac H. Harriott played a man's part in the dire demand that suddenly came upon him:

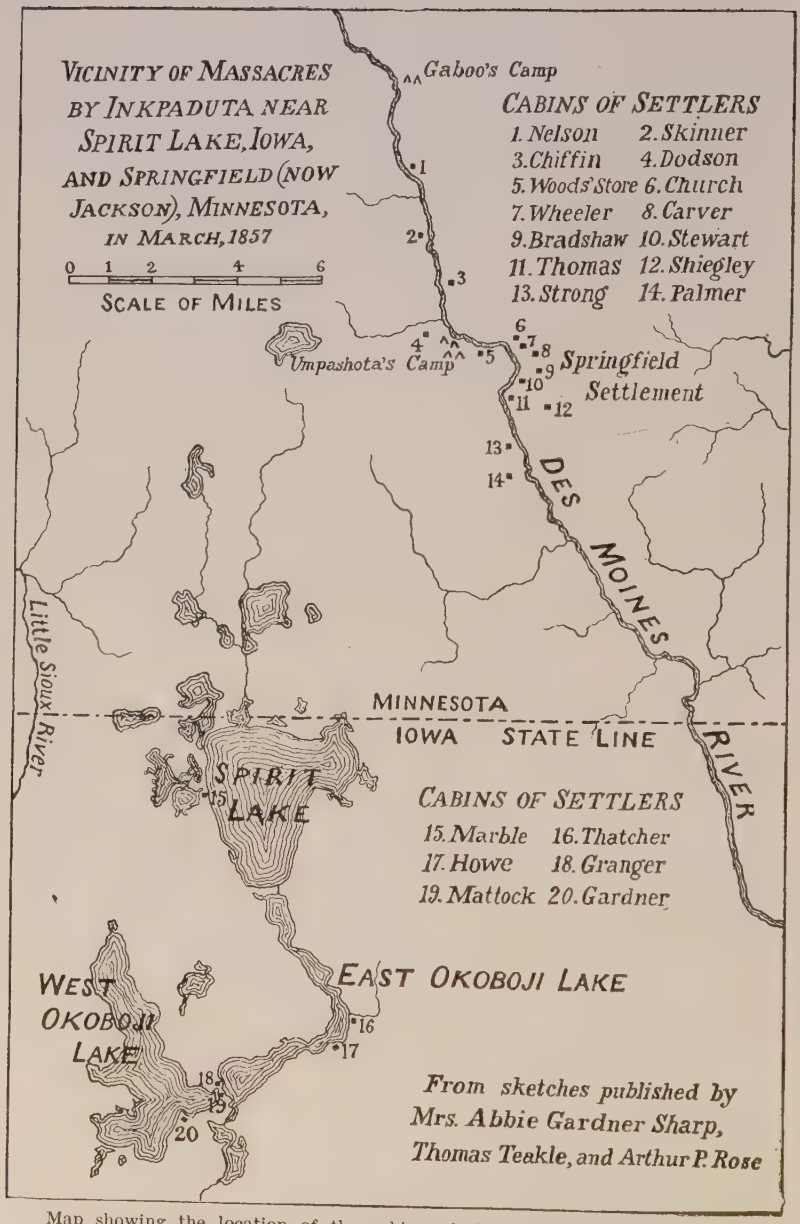
> Nearly all of the murdering was done treacherously, or stealthily. The Indians approached their victims, generally with the professions of friendship, and a peaceable demeanor, and slew them suddenly. The women and children were tomahawked, or bludgeoned, and some of the circumstances were revolting and sickening. Only in one or two instances did the settlers make any defense, although every family had firearms of some sort. Dr. Isaac H. Herriott, formerly of Red Wing, is said to have fought valiantly with his clubbed rifle before he was killed.[18]

III

The recollections of associates in common life, and especially in pioneer ventures, and particularly of companions in sore trial and tragedy, give us the best evidence of the esteem in which mortals were held by neighbors and work-mates. The memories of nearly all of the little group of settlers clustering in between East and West Okoboji on that death-bringing Sunday were blotted out. But one, a girl of fifteen years who was spared death at the hands of her ruthless captors and led into captivity, Abbie Gardner—later, Mrs. Casville Sharp—has given us her recollections of the young Doctor from Red Wing. Her memories remained green and vivid and nearly thirty years later (1885) she gave them permanent form in her *History of the Spirit Lake Massacre,* from which the public has obtained almost all that it now knows of the intimate details of the horror which she and her family and neighbors endured in the second and third weeks of March, 1857.

[17]Gue, "Historical Sketch of Iowa" in *Progressive Men of Iowa,* 1899, Vol. I, pp. 48, 49, 50. See also his *History,* Vol. I, Chapters XXIV, XXV.

[18]Hubbard and Holcombe, *Minnesota in Three Centuries,* 1909, Vol. III, pp. 218-19.



Map showing the location of the cabins of the victims of the Spirit Lake Massacre. Cut furnished by courtesy of the Minnesota Historical Society.

As I shall have occasion to cite Mrs. Sharp's recollections in various connections I shall here give her characterization of the young man whose timely coming to her father's cabin in the morning prevented the massacre starting at nine o'clock instead of six hours later. There are various references to Dr. Harriott in her narrative, casual and specific, and in none does one find an adverse comment or hint of any unfavorable memory. On the contrary, excluding her filial expressions respecting her parents, and her gratitude for the work of her rescuers, which naturally were couched in earnest and anon strong terms, Mrs. Sharp clearly gives the impression that no one in the settlement was held in higher esteem than the young Doctor from Red Wing. The following excerpt from her narrative certainly warrants such a conclusion, for of none other does she make such specific and pointed favorable mention:

> In 1856 he [Dr. Harriott] came to Lake Okoboji, where he fondly hoped to spend many years under the fair, blue sky in this delightful region. It was here that I had the pleasure of his acquaintance; he was genial, kind, and intelligent; his pleasant face was the light of every circle, or gathering on that rude frontier. He enjoyed the confidence and esteem of all who knew him, and yet he fell in the strength of his manhood by the hands of bloodthirsty monsters, whom he had never wronged in word or deed.[19]

Various other citations might be offered, but like those just given they would merely enhance the impression produced by the foregoing, namely, that Isaac H. Harriott was unmistakably a young man of high character and marked vigor, gracious mien and kindly in disposition. He possessed a staunch courage that did not flinch in defense of companions and neighbors in the direst need, and it is clear that it was a courage worthy of all his Scotch forbears. It was his benevolent humanity, or his non-suspicious nature, wherein much of his charm and sociability lodged, that caused him to regard the Indians as friendly rather than malevolent and hostile in design. This likable trait, together with his inexperience with Indians probably was a major contributing cause to the disaster, for had he concurred instantly in Rowland Gardner's suspicions of Inkpaduta's fiendish designs, immediate effective measures for defense might have been concerted between ten o'clock of the morning and three in the

[19]Sharp, *History of the Spirit Lake Massacre*, p. 129.

afternoon when the tragedy began. His very strength as a civilized man proved a fatal weakness in dealing with the ruthless Sioux.

The nature of the tradition of Harry Harriott's courage which for long has echoed about the woods on the shores of the Okoboji and mingled with the Indian tales and pioneer lore of Iowa may be convincingly shown in the following poem which appeared in *The Midland* for December, 1926. Its author, Mr. Mackinlay Kantor, a native of Webster City, whence Company C of the Relief Expedition marched, was brought up in the tradition. Its publication entire in Braithwaite's *Anthology of American Verse for 1927* gave it nation-wide extension.

THE SNOW OF THE OKOBOJI

Now all brave Iowayans listen to me,
I'll tell of a dreadful massacree;
I know that it was long before
I went away to the Civil War. . . .

Inkpaduty is wild and brown:
Up the hills, and over and down
He rode away with a maiden fair
From the snow of the Okoboji!

Oh, it was a cold and mournful night
When the settlers saw a hideous sight—
Those Indian fires against the sky
Coppery-red as the tongues leaped high—

Indian fingers picking at the door,
Indian drums down under the floor,
Indian teeth a-waiting outside—
And Indian feet like a catamount's glide. . . .

I've heard tell how Herriott died:
Seven Sioux corpses lying at his side
And his brave face set at a frozen grin,
With his brains half out and his brains half in.

Doctor Herriott clung like the itch
To his rifle, busted across the breech,
No part of that gun was fit to save. . . .
But his hands still grasp it in his grave.

Inkpaduty is brown and wild;
He rode away with a red lipped child.
His tepees smoke on the plains so far
From the snow of the Okoboji!

Gardners, Marbles, Mattocks and more—
Butchered and dragged from their humble door,
Oh, sad those winds on the northern hills
As Inkpaduty's war cry chills.

Inkpaduty's uncle was
The chief Sidominadoty,
He's carried Abbie Gardner away
To the buffalo grass of Dakoty!

All praise for the Pioneer company—
For one of those rescuers was me!
And all this happened long before
I went away to the Civil War.[20]

IV

Another significant sign of the vigorous, not to say vivid impression which Harry Harriott's character and conduct made upon the minds of companions in those days that so tested their souls on the shores of the Okoboji, and the high level of that appreciation by his confreres is recorded by Mr. R. A. Smith, the historian of Dickinson County. Mr. W. H. Granger, whose report of what he saw at Spirit Lake was the first substantial account of what occurred that got to the general public, was a partner in the Red Wing Company with Dr. Harriott. In 1859 when the terrors of the Massacre had ceased to keep pioneers from coming into the region and local self-government was in the process of establishment, the naming of the various lakes and notable places became a matter of lively local interest. Mr. Granger sought to have West Okoboji, the most attractive and beautiful of the trio of lakes, named "Harriott Lake" in honor of his murdered companion, and East Okoboji "Rice Lake" in recognition of Honorable Henry M. Rice, then one of the national senators of Minnesota at Washington, who was one of the partners in the Red Wing Company with which Granger and Harriott were connected.[21] He did not succeed, for various normal reasons, probably:—first, the new settlers then coming into the region did not know either man intimately; second, the

[20]The poem is reprinted as it appeared first in *The Midland*. See footnote 1 for change in spelling of Dr. Harriott's name in Braithwaite's *Anthology of Magazine Verse* for 1927.

The critical reader who may suspect that Mr. Kantor has indulged in poetical license will find on comparing the assertions in the fifth and sixth stanzas above with the contents of the letter of Judge Harriott of July 6, 1857, to the victim's grandmother (in Section VII) that he was well informed as to the specific facts alleged—painfully accurate in fact.

[21]R. A. Smith's *History of Dickinson County*, p. 167.

Iowans naturally preferred, probably, not to honor Minnesotians; third, they might hesitate especially in view of the fact that Minnesota already had a "Lake Harriet" which would involve more or less confusion;[21a] and fourth, the inertia of things easily favored the retention of the Indian names for the lakes in question. The fixation of names, like marriages and hangings, go by chance in the turn of Fortune's wheel; but the effort and the linking of the two names mentioned are not insignificant.

One of the incidental minor questions induced by the various accounts of the Massacre on that Sunday evening is whether or not any Indians were killed. Mrs. Sharp asserts that none was, but one was seriously wounded by Dr. Harriott. In the letter to the *Pioneer and Democrat* of St. Paul, Mr. W. H. Granger, it is to be inferred, states that three Indians were laid low in the snow. Mr. Kantor in his poem asserts that Dr. Harriott sent seven Sioux to their Happy Hunting Grounds. Major William Williams, some-time Indian trader, later agent, and commander of the Relief Expedition that did such heroic work and suffered such frightful hardships, in his report to Governor James W. Grimes on April 12, 1857, says: "The number of Indians killed or wounded must be from fifteen to twenty. From the number seen to fall, and judging from the bloody clothes and clots of blood left in their encampments, the struggle at the lakes must have been severe, particularly at the house of Esquire Mattocks. Eleven bodies were found at this house, together with several broken guns. They appear to have fought hand to hand."[22]

[21a] Lake Harriet referred to was named after the wife of Colonel Henry Leavenworth: ". . . her maiden name was Harriet Lovejoy . . . she came here with her husband and the first troops, August 24, 1819." Upham. *Minnesota Geographical Names*, p. 239.

[22] Mrs. Sharp's *History*, p. 120, and Gue's *History of Iowa*, Vol. I, p. 299. The original of Major Williams' Report to Governor Grimes appears to have been lost, or at least it is not discoverable in the files of the archives of the Adjutant General's office or of the Governor's office. Major Williams wrote a supplementary account for his neighbors and the friends of the members of the Relief Expedition which was printed in the *Fort Dodge Sentinel*, April 23, 1857, but he gives no additional facts of importance.

Major William Williams has left us at least four separate accounts of the Spirit Lake Massacre:

First, his official report to Governor James W. Grimes on April 12, 1857, of the work of the Relief Expedition;

Second, his series of articles entitled "Historical Sketches of Northwestern Iowa" in *The Iowa North West* running from June 13, 1866, to June 18, 1867;

Third, his brief "History of Webster County" in the ANNALS OF IOWA, First Series, Vol. VII, (July) pp. 283-86, (Oct.) pp. 333-39 (1869);

Fourth, another series entitled "Our Pioneer Days" appearing in *The Fort Dodge Chronicle* (sem-wkly.) between January 30 and May 26, 1897. From sundry signs in the narrative the latter series was composed between 1866 and February 26, 1874, the date of Major Williams' death. In some of the details of the Massacre he evidently follows closely the letter dated at Red Wing, March 20, 1857, quoted above.

Between the two extremes of assertions as to Indians slain, critic and commoner may well pause in perplexity. Mr. Gue, whose memories coincided with many of the chief characters referred to, accepts Major Williams' report as authentic, resting his concurrence upon Major Williams' intimate knowledge of the habits of the wily Sioux in concealing their losses in warfare.[23] Mr. Teakle, a critical latter-day writer on the Massacre, frankly concurs with Mrs. Sharp's assertion, as being nearer the truth.[24]

All those who had the first view of the murdered victims concur in saying that the evidence was convincing that a desperate fight was put up. Both Major Williams and Mr. Teakle concur in saying that by each slain white man at the Mattock cabin, was a rifle.[25] They were aware of their danger because of the sounds coming from the Gardner cabin. We may, without violence, presume that some or all of those men were not timid, inexperienced tenderfeet, afraid of their shadows. Knowing the dread danger confronting them we must presume that they not only could, but would shoot to kill, for they each and all knew full well that it was either their lives or those of their bloodthirsty enemies that would pay the forfeit of hesitation or weakness. While taken by surprise, because of the stealth and treachery of their foes, pretending friendship, Dr. Harriott, Carl Granger and Joseph Harshman came armed with rifles and foreknowledge of the impending struggle. The men at the Mattock's cabin likewise had no delusions of what stared them in the face. Even if some fell at the first fire, it is not likely that all were rendered helpless instantly. Sheer desperation would have induced a sturdy fight not only for the women and children they were seeking to protect, but for themselves in common care for their own fate if they did not pump as much lead into their yelling foes as their last ounce of energy and fear would naturally impel them to do. It seems to me that balancing all of the pros and cons in the evidence that antecedent probability favors a compromise conclusion and that perhaps the seven warriors laid low in Mr. Kantor's lines may be pretty close to the truth.

Another interesting incidental item calls for notice and com-

[23]Gue, *History of Iowa*, Vol. I, pp. 299, 314.
[24]Teakle, *The Spirit Lake Massacre*, p. 107. See also Cyrenus Cole, *A History of the People of Iowa*, p. 296.
[25]Gue, *History of Iowa*, Vol. I, p. 299, and Teakle, *The Spirit Lake Massacre*, p. 106.



The Causeway between East and West Okoboji across which Dr. Isaac H. Harriott, Bertell Snyder and Joseph Harshman on Sunday, March 8, 1857, rushed to the aid of the women and children of the Mattocks cabin—a recent view. Courtesy of the Okoboji Protective Association.

ment. Harry Harriott's heroic defense of the women and children of the Mattock's cabin has induced a popular tradition which, I suspect, does considerable injustice to his associates in the tragedy of that awful Sunday evening. Several narratives assume, or obviously suggest, and one asserts in downright fashion, that Dr. Harriott was the only man who displayed commendable courage and put up a furious fight for the lives of his associates. Lieutenant John N. Maxwell, as we have seen, says so bluntly.[26] Mr. Gue gives color to this conclusion in his dramatic portrayal of the progress of the tragedy.[27] The historians of Minnesota, Messrs. Hubbard and Holcombe, encourage this view of his valor; and Mr. Kantor in his vivid lines adds heft to the tradition.

Such a conclusion or inference that Dr. Harriott was the only stout soul in the settlement who dared to do and to give his all has been encouraged somewhat by the frequent particular mention of the alleged cowardice and desertion of both family and friends in need of a certain doctor when the Indians made their last sortie in their attack on Springfield nearby in Jackson County, Minnesota. The alleged coward had originally been associated with the group that clustered between the Okobojis.[28] But whatever has given headway to the popular tradition here under consideration it is, in my opinion, unjust and unwarranted. Dr. Harriott was simply one brave man among many who faced danger and death like men.

It is not at all unlikely that when he discovered his own awful misjudgment of the purposes of the Indians, which his amiable nature had led him into at the Gardner cabin in the morning, it induced a fury and forwardness in his defense of the helpless women and children which made his part conspicuous. There seem also to have been some elements of leadership in his make-up which enhanced his deeds. But his distinction casts no shadow upon the characters or courage of his companions in tragedy. The heroic work of Morris Markham in carrying the

[26]Ante, p. 249.

[27]Gue, *History of Iowa*, Vol. I, Chapters XXIV, XXV.

[28]Mrs. Sharp, *History of the Spirit Lake Massacre*, pp. 108, 109; Gue, *History of Iowa*, Vol. I, pp. 307, 314; Michael Sweney in ANNALS OF IOWA, Third Series, Vol. III, p. 540; Harris Hoover, *Ibid.*, Vol. V, pp. 14-26; Teakle, *Spirit Lake Massacre*, pp. 150, 151. In his footnote No. 194 Mr. Teakle suggests that the alleged doctor has been much maligned and cites an article in the *Hamilton Freeman* (Webster City), July 30, 1857, by a Mr. Palmer.

news to Springfield may at once illumine and convince the skeptical.[29]

V

Information as to the career of Isaac H. Harriott is very meagre. The fact is not strange. He left his home in Pekin, Illinois, on July 3, 1855, soon after reaching his majority, and within less than two years he was murdered. The sketch which follows is but little more than a shadowy outline, arrived at mainly by inferences from a few known data.[30]

Isaac Henry Harriott was born September 24, 1833, in Boundbrook, on the middle eastern border of Somerset County, New Jersey. He was the son of James and Ann Eliza Harriott. His paternal forbears had lived in that region for nearly a century and a half, the original stock coming over from Scotland, fleeing from religious persecution. His parents moved to Illinois in 1838, settling at Jerseyville in Jersey County, about forty miles north of St. Louis, and sixty miles, as the bird flies, southwest of Springfield.[31]

In view of the antecedent conditions and factors entering into the historic origins of the tragedy between the Okobojis with which we shall be more or less concerned later, it is not irrelevant here to note that the subject of this sketch and Judge Harriott were each born within the environment of the noted explorer, Zebulon Montgomery Pike, who had so much to do with inaugurating the policies of President Jefferson, governing the relations of our national government to the Indians in the ensuing half century in the Upper Mississippi and Missouri valleys. General Pike's grandmother was a Mary Herriott of Woodbridge, New Jersey. He was born on the western border of Somerset County at Lamington, not as Dr. Coues has it in Lamberton, south of Trenton. There is some reason for presuming that the young lieutenant and Judge Harriott had the same forbears.[31a]

[29]See C. C. Carpenter, "The Spirit Lake Massacre," in the *Midland Monthly*, Vol. IV, pp. 23, 24; Teakle, *Spirit Lake Massacre, passim;* Gue, *History of Iowa*, Vol. I, pp. 303, 306.

[30]In what immediately follows I depend in major part upon letters which are presented in the ensuing section, and correspondence with relatives.

[31]Mrs. Sharp, *History of the Spirit Lake Massacre*, p. 129; *History of Tazewell County, Illinois*, 1879, p. 386; *History of Jersey County, Illinois*, 1919, p. 125.

[31a]It may interest Iowans to know that the only recipient of a congressional medal of honor for conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity above and beyond the call of duty in the late World War, allotted to Iowa, was awarded to Emory J. Pike, Lieutenant Colonel, division machine-gun officer Eighty-second Division

His father, James Harriott, was apparently a man of ability and force for he soon was accorded public recognition which indicated public confidence. He was elected county school commissioner for Jersey County in 1840, which office he held until 1847. Meantime he was elected to the House of Representatives for Jersey County in the Fourteenth General Assembly of Illinois, sitting in the session of 1844-45. James Harriott moved to St. Louis, Missouri, in 1848, but the next year he moved to Pekin, Tazewell County, Illinois, where he entered upon the practice of law. Here again public confidence was speedily accorded James Harriott. He was twice elected mayor of Pekin, serving two annual terms in 1851 and 1852. In 1857 he was elected circuit judge of the Twenty-first Circuit comprising Cass, Mason, Menard, Tazewell and Woodford counties, remaining on that bench until 1867.[32]

Meantime young Isaac Harriott obtained his common schooling in Jerseyville, St. Louis, and Pekin. About 1849, or at approximately sixteen, he began the study of medicine and pharmacy, first under Drs. William and Joseph Maus of Pekin, who, we are told by the chief medical chronicle of Illinois, "were both highly educated and successful physicians."[33] He then spent a year, 1854-55, in Atlanta in Logan County where he clerked in a drug store and continued his medical education under the tutorship of Dr. Jerome G. Tenney, another physician who achieved a reputation for progressive views in medicine and politics.[34]

After the manner of all energetic youth the novitiate in materia medica, pharmacopoeia and therapeutics was of the opinion that he saw few chances of rapid or sure success in his chosen profession in either his home city of Pekin or in the small town wherein he last sojourned. The reports of the various

for his notable conduct in action with the enemy near Vandieres, France, September 15, 1918. Col. Pike reorganized some badly demoralized units under particularly trying conditions. He was a direct descendant of a younger brother of Gen. Zebulon M. Pike, the explorer. It does not lessen the distinction of the medal that only ninety congressional medals have been awarded since 1862. *Decorations, United States Army,* 1862-1918. War Department, Office of the Adjutant, 1927, p. 84.

[32]See Note 31.

[33]Zeuch, *History of Medical Practice in Illinois,* Vol. I, pp. 526-527. See second paragraph in Note 34.

[34]*Ibid.,* p. 405. Dr. Tenney was one of the signers of the first petition to the Legislature of Illinois asking "the repeal of all laws now in force making a distinction between our people on account of color," signing it when he was a matriculate in the Medical College of Jacksonville, Illinois—a document that stirred the waters not a little.

In her footnote on page 129 of her *History* Mrs. Sharp names Dr. Maws and Dr. Taney. I have followed Zeuch.

and vasty opportunities for the ambitious coming his way from the great territory to the north, then called Minnesota, caught his attention and soon allured him. He decided to strike out for the North country to see what Fortune might have in store for him.

Dr. Harriott left Jersey Ville (as one of his first letters home puts it) at three o'clock in the morning of July 3, 1855, and reached Alton on the Mississippi "in time for breakfast the next morning." There at noon he took a river boat for St. Louis. He moved with dispatch for at four o'clock that same afternoon he took passage on the steamer Keokuk en route for St. Paul and arrived at Keokuk on the 4th of July at 10 P. M. He spent the next day in the "Gate City," and apparently because of the low stage of the river he engaged passage on the steamer Ella, a vessel of lighter draft. The passage of the Rapids was a slow and laborious transaction.

Ordinarily a river trip is uneventful and seldom exciting, but in this instance the passengers and crew had diversions and distractions in plenty. It proved irksome, difficult and dangerous to get the freight and passengers past the Rapids and the boat through the channel, a distance of fourteen miles up to Montrose. As their boat drew fourteen inches and the water in the channel was at places barely eighteen inches the risks of speedy transit were serious, especially in sharp turns where the current was swift. While waiting for their boat opposite Nauvoo young Harriott and several others visited the site of the Mormon Temple. That night two men on his steamer died of cholera and were given a hasty unceremonious burial on shore. At or near Burlington the boat clerk fell overboard. At Rock Island they were delayed Sunday by a severe storm of wind and rain. When the boat arrived at Galena the captain decided that he could not go farther and transshipped the passengers to the City Belle. At Prairie La Crosse a young lady was thrown overboard by some untoward action of the deck hands in moving the staging. She was pulled out of the water but almost dead and was revived with difficulty. The boat reached St. Paul Thursday, July 12, his trip taking ten days. Within two days he kept a promise to his grandmother, Mrs. Alford Harriott, then resident in Jerseyville, by writing her a substantial letter giving the chief events of his trip. His impressions of St. Paul were somewhat

disappointing, but his observations were alert and acute, and some of his predictions as to the probable future advance of the twin cities near the Falls of St. Anthony have been completely confirmed.

Sometime between July 12, 1855, and January 1, 1856, Dr. Harriott decided to locate in Red Wing, situated at the head of Lake Pepin on the Mississippi, the county seat town of Goodhue County, some forty miles below St. Paul. He entered into a partnership with a Mr. Kellogg. *The Red Wing Sentinel* of February 9, 1856, carries a business card of "Kellogg and Harriott, Druggists and Chemists, Bush Street, Red Wing, M.T." This was the sort of a partnership very common in pioneer days whereby a disciple of Galen diagnosed disease, prescribed medicaments and compounded the drugs, and his business associate attended to the collateral and miscellaneous business of the firm. *The Red Wing Sentinel* contains under date of May 3, 1856, a notice of the dissolution of the partnership of Kellogg and Harriott. Ad interim there is reason to believe that Dr. Harriott had an incessant interest in larger projects, and was more or less connected with an active group of local notables concerned with business ventures.

In a letter to a cousin dated at Red Wing, February 23, 1856, Dr. Harriott tells that the night before he had returned from a "long cold and & tedious journey of about a month" to and from the northern boundary of Minnesota, and "the head waters of Lake Superior." It was a strenuous experience in the dead of winter with the mercury at times thirty-five degrees below zero, sleeping in the open with logs for pillows and the starry heavens for their canopy. His grandmother was very anxious lest he freeze, and he admits that he had "been slightly frostbitten" but nevertheless he asserts that he "never experienced such delightful weather, or passed a winter in so pleasant a climate. We have had first rate sleighing since the 15th of November, with the prospect of a continuance until the middle of March." "I am here in Red Wing, not married, hale and hearty, dealing out drugs to the unfortunate." He did not continue dispensing drugs thus to the ailing for long.

As hinted at in the preceeding paragraph Dr. Harriott must have had some ambitious plans, or he fell in with those who had large plans, for we next hear of him at Sioux City, Iowa.

From another letter to his Grandmother Harriott, written at that outpost, July 2, 1856, and from another to his aunt we learn that he had gone to his old home in May and then to St. Louis in furtherance of an extensive land project and promotion scheme in which he was specifically interested with seven associates, resident in St. Paul or Red Wing, Minnesota. He and three others had gone up the Missouri River to St. Joseph where he and his partners purchased Indian ponies and proceeded overland, sending their baggage ahead to Sioux City by boat. Their project was the selection of the best mail route from St. Paul to some point on the Missouri River, the location of town sites along that route, and the consideration of the purchase of a portion of an old Spanish claim, 31,000 acres in said claim, the price contingent upon the location of the terminus on the Missouri within the bounds of said claim, offered them by Isaac T. Green of St. Louis.

In the official account of "the Late Indian Difficulties" sent to the superintendent of Indian Affairs by Mr. (later Judge) Charles E. Flandrau, agent for the Sioux Indians, in 1857, it is stated: "Last spring Hon. William Freeborn of Red Wing, in connection with other gentlemen, projected a settlement at this point [Spirit Lake] which had progressed up to this winter to six or seven houses, with as many families; they were well supplied and contemplated large improvements this season."[35]

The annalists of Minnesota assume that denizens or residents of that state were the pioneers at Spirit Lake; and local chroniclers on this side the state line assume that Iowans were the first settlers. Dr. Harriott's letters indicate pretty clearly that definite plans were under way in April and May of 1856 and had been under consideration probably for some months preceding. Judge Flandrau informs us that the Red Wing company was formed in May, 1856.[36] I am unable to state whether it was a formal incorporation, or a multiple partnership, for no record thereof seems to be extant either at St. Paul or Red Wing.

The incorporators or partners in the Red Wing Company, Dr. Harriott informs us, were William Freeborn, Dr. William W. Sweney, William Lauver, H. W. Granger, Bartell C. Snyder,

[35]See "Official Account of the Late Indian Difficulties," *House Exec. Doc.*, First Ses. Thirty-fifth Cong., Vol. II, Pt. I, Doc. No. 16, p. 357.
[36]*Minn. Hist. Collections*, Vol. III, p. 387.

C. W. Fosh (Dosh or Tosh?), Isaac H. Harriott and Henry M. Rice.[37] All of those named appear to have been residents of Red Wing, save the last named, Mr. Rice, who lived in St. Paul. Three of that company were men of local distinction, namely Messrs. Freeborn, Sweney and Rice; and Mr. Rice had national distinction then and later.

William Freeborn was one of the notable pioneers of Minnesota. He was a native of Ohio, first lived in St. Paul, but his brother-in-law, Dr. Sweney, persuaded him to join him in founding the town of Red Wing. He was active, courageous and generous in his pioneering according to local annals, and shrewd and farseeing in discerning and comprehending the course of commercial and industrial developments. He was a member of the Territorial Council for three years, 1854-1857. Freeborn County on the southern state line was named in his honor.[38]

Dr. William W. Sweney, like Freeborn, was a man of marked ability, a graduate of Rush Medical College, and active in good works among his fellow townsmen. He was a member of the Territorial House of Representatives in 1854 when Mr. Freeborn was in the Council. He was one of the three commissioners to confer with the Indians in the threatened outbreak in 1854. He won fair fame for his effective work as a physician in the dread epidemic of cholera among the passengers of a river boat that came to Red Wing in 1854. He was active in the State Medical Society.[39]

Concerning the two men just dealt with, a latter-day chronicler states: "His (Freeborn's) generous policy made possible the city of Red Wing as it is today. . . . He and Dr. Sweney gave liberally of land for various enterprises and donated parcels for school, public and churches."[40]

There is but little data obtainable as to four of the partners in the Red Wing enterprise, namely, H. W. Granger, Wm. Lauver, Bartell Snyder and C. W. Tosh. Mr. Granger was the "Capt." Granger referred to by Dr. Harriott, and was quite energetic and probably the owner of the "Granger cabin" re-

[37]See Dr. Harriott's letter written at Sioux City, Iowa, July 2, 1856, in ensuing section.

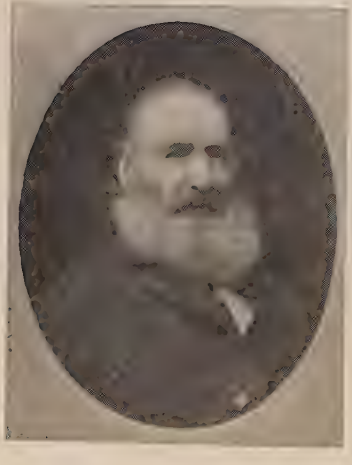
[38]See An Old Settler (Rev. J. W. Hancock), *Goodhue County, Minnesota, Past and Present*, 1893, pp. 35-36, 182, 185-6; Curtis-Wedge *History of Dakota and Goodhue Counties*, Vol. II, p. 1028.

[39]An Old Settler, *Ibid.* pp. 15, 35, 92, 162, 182, 237; Curtis-Wedge, *Ibid.*

[40]Curtis-Wedge, *Ibid.*



HON HENRY M RICE
Delegate of Minnesota Territory.
U S. Senator State of Minnesota
St. Paul.



HON. WM. FREEBORN
Red Wing.



DR WM. A. SWENEY
Red Wing.

The major partners in the Red Wing Land Co., Dr. Isaac H. Harriott's Associates at Split Lake, 1856-57.

ferred to in all accounts of the Massacre. It was his brother who was killed with Dr. Harriott before the Mattock's cabin. William Lauver was a son of a pioneer of Red Wing, Isaac Lauver. In one report of the Red Wing relief expedition that went to Spirit Lake after the Massacre, it is stated that it was Isaac rather than William who accompanied it.[41] I have come on no facts at all about the C. W. Tosh (Dosh or Fosh).

Henry M. Rice, it is hardly necessary to state, was then the delegate of Minnesota Territory in Congress from 1854 to 1858, and one of Minnesota's first national senators, drawing the long term, and serving from 1858 to March 3, 1863. Being a Democrat, his service in the Senate concluded with the expiration of his term, because of the political revolution which occurred in 1860.[42] Senator Rice was a public spirited man throughout his long career as the many references to him in the indices of the *Collections* of the Minnesota Historical Society disclose: like his associates first mentioned being an active promoter of business enterprises, donating generously of his holdings in furthering the erection of churches and lodges. He was a charter member of the Historical Society and aided Dr. S. R. Riggs in the first publication of his *Dakota-English Grammar and Dictionary* through the Smithsonian Institution in 1852.

It is quite clear that Dr. Harriott was associated with some prominent men in a rather extensive program. What brought him into relations with this notable group is not quite clear, and probably not ascertainable. He states in his letter that all of the partners were "equally interested." This may mean equal contributions of funds and equal share in the liabilities and therefore in the profits that might result, or it may have meant all were alike concerned in the success of the venture of which the settlement at Spirit Lake was an incident. Unless Dr. Harriott was furnished funds by his father, Judge Harriott, that would enable him to go into such a business venture, the young man's participation suggests that he had made a remarkable impression upon those old seasoned business men for ability, energy and efficiency in whatever he put his hand to in ordinary business.

[41]An Old Settler, *Ibid.*, p. 97.
[42]See *Biographical Directory of the American Congress*, 1775-1927.

This latter inference seems a fair deduction from a statement in his letter to his aunt, Mrs. E. M. Smith of Jerseyville, dated at Red Wing, October 31, 1856. Therein he tells her that he had been "traveling through the western wilds since I left Sioux City, have been in Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa & Minnesota & during the time have been making all necessary arrangements to travel through the Indian Territory to the Mountains next season; such as procuring the permit from the Government &c. I am in Red Wing, as you will see by this, on business relative to a recent purchase of a Spanish claim lying on the Missouri River which demands the immediate presence of some one of the Company in Washington." The quiet, prosaic tone of Dr. Harriott's references to his part in the company's affairs does not smack of a young man who uses the bumptious "we" or assumes to be the king-pin in the group, or assumes the strut of the youthful egotist who hastily concludes that he is "running" the business. He was clearly with the leaders, and the implication seems clear that he was within their councils and perhaps loaded with directive duties.

The next we hear of Dr. Harriott is at Spirit Lake, although in fact he was writing from a point just above the strait between the Okobojis where his company partners had definitely decided to fix one of the major town sites on the mail route they had in contemplation. He wrote from what has ever since been called the "Granger cabin." In a long letter under date of "Thursday, Dec. 11, 1856" (just two months and twenty-seven days before he was struck down by Inkpaduta's murderous band) addressed to "friends," presumably in Pekin or Jerseyville, he tells of his experiences since his letter of October 31, which were various indeed. But he also recites briefly the trying exactions with blistering heat, mosquitos and buffalo gnats, marshes and swamps and muddy streams they had to cross getting across to Spirit Lake, which they reached on July 15, 1856. That date gives the distinction of priority of settlement to the Red Wing Company, for Mrs. Sharp informs the public that "the heavy emigrant wagons" of her father, Rowland Gardner, did not reach "the shores of the Okoboji Lakes" until July

16, 1856.[43] Thus by a hair's breadth is fame determined and allocated.

Dr. Harriott did not suffer from ennui in those few months at Spirit Lake. They were crowded full with strenuous life. In that long letter home we learn that James Mattock, "Esquire Mattock," came to that settlement because he met the Red Wing adventurers at Sioux City who helped him build his cabin, near which they were soon to encounter death. They were nearly ninety miles from Sioux City and Fort Dodge, and Red Wing was one hundred and fifty miles away, and their journeys thereto either on horseback or by wagon to secure provisions and tools were both difficult and irksome. For a week or more he and his companions were within the fringes of distress from starvation.

Dr. Harriott shows his humanity in his concern for his pony that carried him so easily up the valleys of the Missouri and Sioux, across the prairies, and rivers, through swamps, and with him astride swam rivers and lakes and nearly died from pneumonia induced by the wintry chill of the waters. It was the pony that accompanied Abbie Gardner in her wearisome journey in capitivity through the Pipestone country to the James River Valley.[44] He gives a vivid account of the strenuous experience of himself and companions when lost in the snowstorm in the dead of night, and of their complicated, congested, contracted sleeping arrangements in a narrow wagon box when four sturdy individuals (one 200 pounds in weight) sought sleep with the mercury ten below. Being a Scotchman and a Presbyterian, he tells the folks at home without hesitation that lacking both fuel and fire that night, a "five gallon keg of good old rye whiskey" served as a substitute and they "stimulated considerably before we retired to rest" (and, *mirabile dictu,* the people of Iowa had passed at a popular referendum in 1855 a drastic Prohibition Law!!)

The irrepressible optimism of youth and of the frontiersman is conclusively demonstrated in Dr. Harriott's enthusiastic observations about the splendiferous grandeur of the "Bachelor's Hall" which they opened on Sunday, November 30. It was "built of logs, chinked with chunks, and daubed with mud, cov-

[43]Sharp, *History of the Spirit Lake Massacre,* p. 38.
[44]*Ibid.,* p. 235.

ered with shakes, thatched with hay, contains one room, is 20 feet long, and 18 feet wide, 8 feet in the clear, from floor to ceiling . . .; our hall contains one door, and one twelve [inch?] window, a fireplace in one end of it 12 feet wide into which we can put a cord of wood at once. . . . In short I tell you that our hall cannot be surpassed on the frontiers."

But their life was not made up wholly of the thrills of achievement. He tells us that they "had not been in our mansion but 4 days" when he was informed that some heathen had "jumped" his claim. Whereupon, even though it was bitter cold on December 4, he tells us "[I] buckled on my revolver & hunting knife and shouldered my sharpshooter, and walked out that way." He looked also for elk and game, other than "claim jumpers" in the "groves along the lake shores" and took "a circuitous course and coming through the grove which joins the Town site." Alas, he did not clothe his feet adequately or the temperature was lower than he presumed, for after walking all day in fourteen inches of snow, and "in some places on the prairie where it had drifted, much deeper" he found on reaching the "mansion" that he had frozen his right foot badly. Despite the best care he could give it much of the flesh came from the great toe but he was hopeful that the bone had not been seriously affected. His hope was fulfilled if we may infer any thing from the uanimous reports of his strenuous work on Sunday afternoon, March 8, 1857, already portrayed.

The "claims" or parcels or tracts of land taken, or rather picked out and "squatted on" by Dr. Harriott and his associates, (for the government surveyors had not then run the section lines and marked the corners, and did not complete the survey until 1859,) Mr. Smith, the Historian of Dickinson County, tells us were as follows:

> James Mattock and his family . . . settled in the grove south of the Okoboji bridge, which was then known as Mattock's Grove, taking its name from Esquire Mattock, one of the principal and most influential men in the settlement. About the same time a party came in from Red Wing, Minnesota, consisting of William Granger, Carl Granger, Bert Snyder, and Doctor Harriott, and located on the north side of the Okoboji bridge. Their cabins stood upon what is now the right of way of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad, about half way between the lake shore and the depot. The Grangers claimed the point

and the land along East Okoboji Lake; Harriott, the Maple Grove on West Okoboji Lake, and Snyder, Center Grove.[45]

How much capital was subscribed by the incorporators or partners of the Red Wing Company Dr. Harriott does not inform us, nor precisely how much cash was actually paid in; and how much was expended in furtherance of their plans we cannot now say with assurance. But enough is disclosed in his letters—extensive journeys by its members, the purchase of ponies, supplies and needed impedimenta, repeated journeys to Red Wing for provisions and equipment, the consideration and purchase of the 31,000 acres of the Spanish Claim—to indicate pretty clearly an extensive program; and the prominence of at least three of the associates in the project creates a presumption that it was not a fanciful, or idealistic or pretentious proceeding. They were still in the preliminary stages of investigations to determine what they should put into their prospectuses, if land sales were their ultimate grand objective, as we may be sure they were. That it was not "all on paper" is suggested by the following from *The Daily Pioneer and Democrat* of St. Paul of April 18, 1857, under the caption, "The Indian 'War'."

> In May last Messers. Freeborn, Lauver, Granger, Sweeny [sic] Harriett [sic] and Snyder, formed a company at Red Wing, in the Territory for the purpose of laying out a town, farming, and erecting mills, on Spirit Lake, in Dickinson county, Iowa. In July they dispatched several teams to the lake, containing supplies for the settlers, and Messrs. Granger, Harriett and Snyder accompanied them. During the summer, several families from Iowa moved to the neighborhood of the lake; and in December last, when Mr. Granger returned to Red Wing, there were thirty-nine persons residing at Spirit Lake.
>
> * * * * * *
>
> On the 5th of April, Messrs. Freeborn, Lauver and their associates, of Red Wing, despatched five men, well supplied with provisions, arms, ammunition, &c to Spirit Lake. This party is composed of the following persons, Messers. Granger, Decay, Lauver, Patten, and Huntington. They started by way of Owatonna and Blue Earth City, as soon as possible after the news of the massacre reached Red Wing.
>
> The Red Wing Company had expended at Spirit Lake, upwards of $3,000. At the time of the attack, there was a large supply of provisions on hand, fifty head of cattle, and eight or ten horses and mules.

[45]Smith, *History of Dickinson County*, p. 45. As may easily be inferred I have made no little use of this source. Mr. Smith gave the public one of the best county histories Iowa can claim. He not only garnered the major and minor facts carefully, but clarified and effectively presented them. His pages are not marred or weighted with heaps of immaterial and irrelevant *personalia* dragged in to "sell" the volume.

The Red Wing Company had obviously passed its inchoate stage and its organizers were definitely under way with their plans.

In his letter dated at Sioux City, Iowa, July 2, 1856, Dr. Harriott informs us that his associates in the Red Wing Land Company had purchased one half of "an Old Spanish Claim on the Missouri river of 31,000 acres," the purchase price being contingent upon the company selecting a "location" (namely, a town site) on the Missouri River within or near by the remainder of the Mr. Green's tract. The price actually paid, or contracted to be paid, was not stated.

The precise location of that "Old Spanish Claim" cannot at present be given. Dr. Harriott assumes that his correspondents knew of its locus. Inquiries addressed to recorders of deeds in the counties bordering on the Missouri River in South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas and Missouri—from Chamberlain down to Kansas City—elicited negative information. The records of the federal courts disclose controversies over alleged Spanish grants or titles in eastern Iowa, in Dubuque and Lee counties, on the Mississippi River; but none in western Iowa on the Missouri River. The General Land Office at Washington knows of no Spanish grants which were recognized or "confirmed" above the northern boundary of Missouri, save sundry titles resting upon "location script," namely title deeds issued under acts of Congress to heirs of Spanish grantees, permitting them, if their "claims" were confirmed, to select in lieu of original tracts claimed an equivalent in any of the unoccupied lands of the national government.

The vendor of the tract in question, Isaac T. Green (Greene?) so far as my present information goes, was a problematical personage. The local annals of St. Louis do not give any accounts of his career. Sundry discoverable items, unearthed for me by Miss Stella Drumm, Librarian of the Missouri Historical Society, suggest that Isaac T. Green was either a man of considerable wealth or he was a man of straw behind whom other men operated. Dr. Harriott's letter telling of his trip to St. Louis and his reference to the owner of the Spanish claim create a presumption that he was neither myth nor nonentity. Dr. Harriott's journey overland with his associates, from St. Joseph up the Missouri River and thence up the Big Sioux River from

Sioux City to the Iowa-Minnesota line, we may also presume, was undertaken for the purpose of looking over the tract in question to determine whether their company should purchase or not. But it is not indicated whether the tract was below the Iowa-Missouri boundary line or situated northwest from Sioux City between the Big Sioux and the Missouri rivers, or south of the latter. One item in the Record of Deeds in the City Hall in St. Louis suggests that the tract may have been on the west side of the Missouri above St. Joseph, but the evidence is not conclusive. Other facts seem to point towards southeastern South Dakota as the locus of that Old Spanish Claim. In footnote 54 I have summed up the major facts within my ken at the time this goes to press.

Another fact of no little significance appears in Dr. Harriott's letters. They were written at widely separate points in our central "Northwest" of those days—St. Paul and Red Wing, and Sioux City and Spirit Lake. His explorations ranged to and from the northern woods above Lake Superior and the Canadian line, through the hunting grounds of the Chippewas, through Kansas, Nebraska, parts of South Dakota, and Iowa, and across southern Minnesota, wherein the Ioways, Otoes, Pawnees, Pottawattamies, Sacs and Sioux ranged more or less at will. But in no one of his letters in which he is relating for the friends and folks "back home" his most interesting experiences and observations, does he so much as make mention of Indians; and there is no hint or intimation of the least concern about their presence or possible danger from their interference or depredations. The fact, in view of the stark tragedy in which he was soon overwhelmed, is notable. We know now that various wandering bands of malevolent Sioux were prowling about the headwaters of the Little Rock River, the branches of the Floyd, the Ocheyedan, and the Little Sioux, the Des Moines and the Boone, in various sorts of raids, stealing cattle and terrorizing the whites in various communities; but apparently the adventurers of the Red Wing Company had not been made aware of their depredations, or of any imminent or possible danger from their presence or proceedings.

Finally, another cluster of facts should be noted for their existence has no little bearing upon the question of the assignment of culpability or fault in causing or precipitating the

tragedy on March 8-15, following. Neither Dr. Harriott and his associates gave any thought to the Indians, nor did the incoming settlers from the southern and eastern parts of Iowa, if we may accept Mrs. Sharp's narrative, display any conscious concern as to a possible menace from the hostility of the Indians. Moreover, there is nothing in Dr. Harriott's letters which imply or suggest any sort of fear or anxiety, or question about their right to go into the Lake region. Certainly neither the Minnesotans, nor the Iowans, were conscious of any violation of any legal or moral rights of the Indians, and for a very substantial and conclusive reason.

In 1830 the Ioways, Omahas, Otoes, and the four great bands of the Sioux—the Medawah-Kanton, Wah-pa-coota, Wahpeton and Sissetong— ceded their rights to the lands in Iowa on the "western slope" from the watershed of the Des Moines, the line beginning at the Upper Fork of the Des Moines, thence passing the sources of the Little Sioux and the Floyd rivers, down Rock and the Big Sioux, thence down the Missouri to the mouth of the Kansas River, thence up and along the western and northern boundary of Missouri, at that time, to the highlands dividing the waters which flow into the Missouri and the Des Moines, thence northerly to the source of the Boyer, thence in a straight line to the place of beginning.[46] There were sundry reservations as to the fishing and hunting privileges of the Indians in that then uninhabited region. What is now Lyon County was not included. But Dickinson County, containing Spirit Lake and the Okobojis, was included in the 1830 cession. By the terms of the two treaties in 1851—Traverse des Sioux and Mendota—the Sioux tribes agreed to withdraw entirely from western Iowa and this treaty included Emmet and Palo Alto, Kossuth, and portions of Humboldt and Pocahontas, Hancock, Cerro Gordo, Mitchell, and Howard, and all of Worth and Winnebago. The pioneers from Minnesota and Iowa in and about Spirit Lake in 1856-57 had, therefore, an unqualified legal and a perfect moral right to enter that region and "stake out their claims" as they might elect or prefer.[47]

[46] ANNALS OF IOWA, Third Series, Vol. XI, p. 248.

[47] See map showing accessions of territory from Indians, ANNALS OF IOWA, Third Series, Vol. VII, opp. p. 283.

The statement above as to hunting priveleges reserved to the Sioux in Northwest Iowa prior to 1851, among which fishing and trapping are assumed

VI

In consequence of a various correspondence there was placed in my hands on the afternoon of Thursday, November 12, 1931, by Mr. J. Irving White of Jerseyville, Illinois, five manuscript letters written by Dr. Isaac H. Harriott, in the years 1855 and 1856 which he had penned at various places—one at St. Paul, and two at Red Wing in Minnesota, one at Sioux City and one at Spirit Lake in Iowa. The letters for the most part relate his experiences in the promotion and realization of a land speculation in which he was personally interested. They are not ordinary business letters but intimate personal letters to members of his immediate family, or to "friends," whom I suspect connoted nearly the same group. In addition I was given two letters penned by Dr. Harriott's father, James Harriott, then Judge of the Twenty-first Circuit Court of the state of Illinois, one under date of April 18, and the other on July 6, 1857, each written at his home in Pekin, Illinois, the first on the day he first read in the press dispatches the reported murderous affair at Spirit Lake, and the second after he had journeyed to the scene of the tragedy and identified his son's body and given it a burial.

Two of Dr. Harriott's letters were addressed to his grandmother, Mrs. Alford (Sarah Voorhees) Harriott, and Judge Harriott's likewise, also to his mother; one to Dr. Harriott's cousin Sallie, later Mrs. John I. White; one to his Aunt Susan, Mrs. E. M. (Susan Harriott) Smith; all three then resident in Jerseyville, Illinois. All of the letters were in the keeping of the grandmother until her death March 17, 1872, at the ripe old age of eighty-seven years. They then passed into the custody of Mrs. John I. White, thence to her oldest son, Judge Charles Smith White, and upon his death November 11, 1925, to his brother, Mr. J. Irving White, all of Jerseyville. Through the good offices of Mrs. Charles S. White, widow of Judge White, the

to be included, rests upon the following clause in Article I, of the treaty of 1830:

"But it is understood that the lands ceded and relinquished by this treaty are to be assigned and allotted under the direction of the President of the United States to the tribes now living thereon for hunting, and other purposes."

That language is comprehensive and authorizes sweeping inferences as to the Indians' rights of expectation as to their undisturbed occupancy and possession of their favorite hunting ranges, and freedom from intrusion or trespass upon what they deemed their rightful terrain and sacred places. As we shall see various factions of the Sioux felt that they had been tricked in the two treaties of 1851.

letters came to the present writer who has deposited them in the Historical, Memorial and Art Department of Iowa.

In presenting the letters I have refrained from any textual or verbal alterations of any sort. Due to the conditions of composition, or hurry, or epistolary habit, Dr. Harriott did not always punctuate effectively, or capitalize according to rule—his sentences running together, sometimes a trifle confusingly. Conciseness, clearness and rapid progression generally characterize his style. His script is very clear and uniform, its character depending somewhat upon his state of mind or the speed with which he composed. His orthography now and then limps, or is excessive. When the sentence is not clearly ended by a period and the next one begins without capitalization, double slugs suggest the sentence construction. As there is little or no normal paragraphing in the letters by Dr. Harriott each succeeding page is given a number in parenthesis.

I

St Paul Minnesota Territory
July 15th/55

Dear Grand Mother.[48]

I fear that before this reaches you, you will begin to think, that I have forgotten my promise. but to tell you the truth I could not very well write you sooner. Well now that I have commenced to write you a letter, I suppose that to give you a little history of my travels from the time I left you until the present will be as interesting probably to you as any thing I can write. I left Jersey Ville Tuesday July 3rd at 3 o clock A M reached Alton in time for breakfast. took the 12 o clock boat for St. Louis. then took passage on the Steamer Keokuk, for Keokuk, left St. Louis at 4 P M, the boat was crowded with passengers July 4th was rather a dull day, we arrived at Keokuk that night about 10 o clock. I remained in Keokuk that night and the next day July 5th had a very good opportunity to visit the place, it contains about (2) 8,000 inhabitants. About Sundown the Steamer Ella came in sight, and bound for St. Paul. I took passage on her. Keokuk is, as you are probably aware, the head of navigation for large boats, on account of the rapids which are 12 miles long at this point. Most of boats run over however when there is a good stage of water, but at present the river is very low. as I said before I took passage on the Steamer Ella Thursday evening July 5th. did not leave there however until friday morning as they were all night and part of the forenoon unloading the freight and loading it on flat boats, called lighters, they are towed or drawn by eight horses to Montrose which is 14 miles above Keokuk.

[48]Mrs. Alford (Sarah Voorhees) Harriott, then resident in Jerseyville, Illinois.

we were detained on the rapids for several hours. it is very difficult as well as dangerous to go over at present as there is but 18 inches water in the channel, and in many places we could see the points of rocks above the water our boat drew but 14 inches and we would have got along very well but (3) for the swiftness of the current, and ours being a stern wheel craft could not manage it when the current was swift in making short turns. we got on the rocks several times but by backing and sparring and going ahead we managed to get to montrose by 3 o clock that afternoon Montrose is directly opposite the City of Nauvoo. when we reached there then we had all the freight to take on board again. two deck passengers died of Cholera before we arrived at Montrose. there were but about 12 Cabin passengers on board, one family of 5 in number and the others were all young men bound for different parts of Minnesota. Nauvoo has a beautiful location for a City. there is a gradual elevation back from the river for about two miles. and on the highest point is the remains of the mormon temple. as it was onley 3. o Clock and the boat could not possibly leave before midnight, several of us concluded that we would cross the river and visit the temple. the river there is 1¾ miles wide (4) and an old horse ferry boat that will make about 4 trips pr day is the onley convenience for crossing and that is not very convenient when a person is in a hurry. We divested ourselves of coats and vests before we started and it was well we did for it was very warm and we had about 2 miles to walk to see the temple and that was our onley object in crossing. there is but a small portion of the building now standing. there is the whole of the west end and about 20. or 25. feet of the length of the building yet standing we left Montrose that night about 1. o clock or rather the next morning. when 2 or 3 miles out from the town they burried [sic] the two men who died of cholera, they were both put into one box made of rough boards, the deck hands then commenced to dig the grave and as they had but one shovel (5) they made rather slow progress and when they had dug the hole about three feet deep one of the men accidently or purposely broke that. they then rolled the box in or a part of it and so left it, after throwing a little earth over the end that was in the ground nothing more of interest occurred until we reached Rock Island except that the clerk fell over board at Burlington and got a good ducking. we reached Rock Island Sunday morning. were detained there until about 2 o clock in the afternoon on account of a storm of wind and rain. the upper rapids commence at R. I.[49] and extend up 18 miles and during the whole afternoon we onley [sic] made 7 miles and at dark we had to lay up for the night. Monday Morning we started at day light. made a very good run that day. I always thought before that Galena was on the Mississippi river (6) but it is not it is on Fever river. 7 miles from its mouth. it is a very small stream just wide enough to admit of one boat. if any one not knowing the Steamboats navigated that river should see it and be told that such was a fact would hardly believe it. we reached Galena about sundown monday evening, there the captain of the steamer

[49]Rock Island.

Ella concluded that he would go no further and then and there shipped us on board the steamer City Belle. We left Galena sometime between midnight and morning we took Breakfast Dinner and Supper at Dunleith, which is the terminus of the Illinois Central Rail Road and 14 miles by river from Galena. Dubuque is directly opposite Dunleith and contains about 7,000 inhabitants. We left Dunleith at sundown at Prairie La Crosse a young lady was thrown overboard by some of the hands moving the staging whilst she was on it two men jumped in and with some difficulty (7) got her out but she was nearly dead. we reached St. Paul on Thursday Eve at 6. o clock July 12th having been on the river en route 10 days,

I am some what dissapointed in my expectations of this place. the Location is not as good as I expected. the place contains somewhere about 10,000 inhabitants, the business is done mostly on one street, and that is two miles in length and built up almost solid. the town of St Anthony is a flourishing town 8 miles above St Paul, contains about 4.000 souls it is situated at the falls of the same name. the river at that Point falls some 15 or 20 feet perpendicular. just above the falls there is a suspension bridge across the Mississippi. which to me was quite a curiosity as well as the falls opposite St Anthony is the town of Mineapolis population of about 700 those two places are destined to be large Cities from the fact (8) that they possess superior advantages for manufacturing. To day I have been wandering about looking at the City and surrounding country. went out to the great Cave that of its self is quite a curiosity, I and a young man from Philadelphia went out but having no light could not explore the cave any great distance, the day is well nigh passed and I have not been to church and it being very warm I shall not go to day. I hope that you will write me very soon if you can not, get Susan to write, tell [me] if Father & Mollie have been down to Jersey Ville. my respects to all enquiring friends, write me soon and you shall soon hear from me again,

Yours as ever

Ike. H. Harriott

II

Red Wing M. T. Feb 23rd/56

Little Cousin Sallie,[50]

I returned last eve from a long cold & tedious journey of about a month to and from the northern boundry of Minnesota, and the head waters of Lake Superior. On my return I found awaiting me a letter from you, the receipt of which afforded me the pleasure of learning that you were all well, together with other facts of less importance but which were nevertheless news to me. I should like much to hear, from you oftener, Acknowledging at the same time that you may have reasons to think that I should write a little oftener myself, but my time since I have been in the Territory has been much occupied with business affairs. You stated that Grand Mother was affraid [sic] that I would

[50]Sarah Harriott, later Mrs. John White, of Jerseyville.

freeze, here in this cold country. I have been slightly frost bitten as well as the others, who accompanied me to Lake Superior. we were 14 days going through from St Paul, And 8 nights we had to camp out and wraped in our blankets & robes, with the earth for a bed, a *pine log* for a pillow and covered by the broad canopy of the starry heavens. we generally passed the night quite comfortably. The thermometer sometimes 35 degrees below and at any time not higher than 15 (2) degrees below zero. You may think this a very cold country. I think just so, but I never experienced such delightful weather, or passed a winter in so pleasant a climate. We have had firstrate Sleighing since the 15th of November, with the prospect of a continuance until the middle of March. we do not feel the severity of the winters here so much as you do the sudden changes of your more southern Clime. I recd a letter from Father a few days before I left for the north, no news of importance said they were well as usual, I have also recd one from Sister Mollie[51] at Jackson Ville, she is well and says she is progressing finely with her Studies. I am here in Red Wing, not married, hale & hearty dealing out Drugs to the unfortunate. You may expect a short visit from me in the Spring as soon as navigation opens should I go to St Louis to purchase my Spring Stock, should I go to New York which I am inclined to think I Shall, it is barely possible. Write me soon a long letter, my compliments to all Friends enquiring

And believe me as Aft.

Ike H. Harriott

III

Sioux City Iowa July 2nd /56

Dear Grandmother

You will see by this that we are progressing on our journey, however rather slowly. We came up by the river as far as St. Joseph by Steam boat there we bought Indian Ponies from the Indians across the river in Kansas Territory, sent our bagage up to this place by boat & rode our Ponies. We have been here several days, are quite at home wherever we stop, have our tent & do our own cooking. I am sitting on the ground and writing on a sack of flour therefore you must not expect much of a letter. We leave here tomorrow morning. Sioux City is not much of a place is not a year old. contains about 300 Inhabitants. We have to pay 3 prices for everything (2) we buy. I dont remember as I ever told you the object of our exploring expidition nor have I time to give you the full particulars here. Our object is to establish a Mail Route from St Paul to Some point on the Missouri river which place we have yet to locate. Also to locate other Town Sites on the line of the route and through the Territory at other good localities.

Our company consists of eight persons H. M. Rice delegate to congress from Minnesota, Wm Freeborn ex Member of Legislature

[51]Mary Ann Harriott, then a student in the Musical Department of Illinois College at Jacksonville, Illinois.

M. T. Dr Sweeney *do.*[52] Wm. Lannes [?][53] H. W Granger, B. C. Snyder C. W Tosh [?] & Myself. All equally interested there are onley 4 of us out at present, the others will be out in september. I and every one else think that it will be a very profitable speculation

(3) Isaac T. Green of St Louis has an old Spanish Claim on the Missouri river consisting of 31,000 acres of which he offers us one half if we will make our location on the Missouri river on that land, his offer we have accepted. they say here that one half of the claim is worth from 50,000 to 100,000 dollars.[54] I shall probably not very often have an opportunity of writing after we leave here. I should like to hear from you often, this will be our head quarters for a while

Yours as ever in haste

I. H. Harriott

[52]Dr. William W. Sweney of Red Wing, Minnesota. Concerning Messrs. Snyder and Tosh I have no information. Mr. H. W. Granger, brother of Carl Granger, killed with Dr. Harriott, as indicated in the narrative in section IV, was quite energetic in the affairs of the company, but as will be shown in a later connection he left Spirit Lake soon after the events referred to and save in one particular his later career is not known to me.

[53]William Lauver, also of Red Wing, Minnesota.

[54]The exact locus of the tract called "the Old Spanish Claim of 31,000 acres on the Missouri River" referred to by Dr. Harriott in his letter dated at Sioux City and in the following one dated October 21, 1856, at Red Wing, Minnesota, is not certain and may not be ascertainable. Further the circumstances and career of the vendor, Isaac T. Green, are likewise not quite certain.

My first inquiries as to the whereabouts of the alleged Spanish claim met invariably with marked skepticism as to the verity of the statement in Dr. Harriott's letter. Such grants or claims were matters of record in one or two places in eastern Iowa, and Missouri had many "confirmed" land titles of the Spanish regime; but no one had heard of any in either western Iowa or in Kansas and Nebraska or in South Dakota. Letters were addressed to the recorders of deeds in all of the counties in Missouri abutting on the Missouri River from Kansas City to the Iowa boundary line, and in all counties in Kansas, Nebraska and South Dakota on the same course up to Chamberlain, South Dakota, and negative replies were received. The General Land Office at Washington could neither confirm nor deny unless the "claim's" specific location could be certified.

The correspondence and papers of Senator H. M. Rice, and Messrs. Freeborn and Sweney, the major spirits in the Red Wing Land Company and all of the records of the company apparently have been lost or destroyed, according to letters received from relatives of the men named; and this loss closes one avenue of information.

Dr. Harriott's letters display no doubt or question about the existence of the tract or the validity of the title if purchased, which it seems to me would have been indicated if any serious controversy had existed anent the title, and the chief factors in the company had displayed the common prudence of ordinary land buyers; and certainly the three chief men, already named, were no tyros in business ventures and land speculation. One portion of a sentence in Dr. Harriott's letter to his aunt dated at Red Wing suggests a possible perplexity: "I am in Red Wing as you will see by this on business relative to a recent purchase of a Spanish claim lying on the Missouri River which demands the immediate presence of some one of the Company in Washington." That needed "presence of some one of the Company in Washington" suggests the discernment of a possible or actual cloud on the title of their purchase.

A suggestion given me by Judge Otha S. Thomas of Rock Rapids of Lyon County in the Twenty-first Judicial District caused me to interview Mr. James M. Parsons of Des Moines, a lawyer of fifty years practice in northwestern Iowa. He knew of no Spanish grants in Iowa, but he recalled a purchase of his own of some land about 1900 in the Red River Valley that went back to a Spanish grant. He wrote for me to the law firm of Wyvell, Murphy, Johanson & Nelson of Breckenridge, Wilkin County, Minnesota, and from Mr. R. N. Nelson I received an instructive letter confirming Mr. Parsons' recollection. A Mr. Power lived in Louisiana prior to the Jefferson Purchase. He died intestate in 1824. Among the assets of his estate were 80,000 arpents of land. There was a cloud on the title. After some years of litigation under Congressional acts of 1844, 1860 and 1867 the heirs finally secured a judgment and decree which permitted the heirs or their assignees to select by means of "location script" 57,000 acres in any region or state where the United States "owned unoccupied

IV

Red Wing, Minnesota
Oct 31st 1856

Aunt Susan[55]

I received a letter from you bearing date of July about ten days since, wich [sic] Afforded me much pleasure in learning that you were all in the enjoyment of good health, & many thanks to the great, I Am, that I have enjoyed & am still in the full enjoyment of the same blessing, Although it seems Almost impossible that such should be the case after serviving the trials hardships & privations that I have passed through the past season. The hardships attending exploring & leading a frontier life are better imagined (2) than described. I have been traveling through the western wilds since I left Sioux City, have been in Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa & Minnesota & during the time have been

lands." The entries were made in Wilkins County, Minnesota, on June 1, 1875. The case may be followed in 13 *Louisiana*, 616, and 11 *Wallace*, 632. R. N. Nelson to the writer (mss) March 8, 1932.

The activity of Spanish merchants and traders in the upper reaches of the Missouri River above St. Joseph in the half century prior to the Louisiana Purchase in 1803 naturally creates a strong expectation that here and there far-seeing ones would make "claims" to some of the attractive acres in favorable sites. They established trading posts at the mouth of the Nishnabotna and Council Bluffs and at the mouth of the Big Sioux on the Iowa side, and at Bellevue and Omaha and pushed up into the Dakotas. (See Houck, *The Spanish Regime in Missouri*, Vol. I, p. 332; *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 1-3; Houck, *History of Missouri*, Vol. II, pp. 58-63, 70, 72, 248-252; Coues, *Lewis and Clark*, Vol. I, pp. 62, 74. (See also letter of instructions of Baron Carondelet governor of the Province of Louisiana to Lt. Col. Don Carlon Howard, New Orleans, 26 November, 1796, in *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, Vol. III, pp. 71-91 (January, 1908). Notable among these efforts was the authorization by Don Zenon Trudeau, Lt. Governor, on May 12, 1794, of the Spanish Commercial Exploration Company that had the upper Missouri regions in contemplation. (Houck, Vol. II, pp. 148-208.)

Among the directors of that Commercial Exploration Company was one, Jacques Clamorgan. From sundry accounts he seems to have been a very able, ambitious, energetic person, who soon came into general executive control of the company's affairs. His character or conduct soon produced much discontent and finally belligerent opposition. Whether honest and heedless or reckless or unscrupulous, he was finally ousted from control. During his management, however, he secured for himself extensive grants of land from the Spanish governor (or his lieutenants) located here and there in the present state of Missouri or up the Missouri River, totalling nearly 2,000,000 acres. He must have been very heedless in matters of common prudence because, as the event demonstrated, so many of his "claims" proved merely "inchoate" and ultimately futile as he did not fulfill essential conditions prerequisite to secure valid title to the lands granted to him. His death occurred November 1, 1814, and his claims were almost continuously in controversy from that date until the United States Supreme Court gave a quietus thereto in the case of *United States vs. Clamogran et al* decided on January 5, 1880, Justice Samuel F. Miller writing the opinion for the court, reversing the Federal District Court of eastern Missouri, holding all, or virtually all of the claims aggregating 1,810,240 acres, without merit, because the original grantee had neglected to comply with essential conditions precedent to good title. (11 *Otto*, 822-831.)

For some of the minutiae as to the Clamorgan claims see *Report of Commissioner of the General Land Office*, giving final reports of the Board of Commissioners at St. Louis under act of July 9, 1832, providing for the final adjustment of the private land claims in Missouri, Twenty-fourth Congress, First Session, *Document 16*, pp. 184-187, 396-398, 401-409, 414-415, and *American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. II, pp. 469, 491, 509, 515, 516, 536, 542, 556, 559. Some of the claims were allowed or confirmed.

It was some one of those various Clamorgan Spanish claims probably that the Red Wing Land Company purchased. Precisely which one was thus acquired, I cannot say at the present writing. I am indebted to the efficient searches of Miss Stella Drumm, librarian of the Missouri Historical Society at

[55]Mrs. E. M. (Susan Harriott) Smith of Jerseyville with whom Mrs. Alford Harriott lived.

making all necessary arrangements to travel through the Indian Territory to the Mountains next season, Such as procuring a permit from Government &c, &c. I am in Red Wing as you will see by this on business relative to a recent purchase of a spanish claim lying on the Missouri River which demands the immediate presence of some one of the Company in Washington

I have not heard from home since I was there in May. I nevertheless hope to hear from you as often as practicable (3) I hope you will write me at this place on receipt of this as I shall have one and probably but one opportunity of hearing from you for the next year. I shall winter

St. Louis, who examined the Record of Deeds in the City Hall for the following that appears under date of February 16, 1852:

"Jacques Clamorgan had in his lifetime a claim to 150,162 arpens, 85 perches of land, granted by Don Carlos Dehault Delassus to Regis Loisel, March 25, 1800, and was afterwards purchased from Regis Loisel by Jasques Clamorgan, and Henry and Cyrien Clamorgan, grandsons and only surviving heirs and devisees of Jacques Clamorgan, who conveyed their right or title to Isaac T. Green, in order that he might prosecute the claim. Green paid the Clamorgan heirs $6,000. The land had not been confirmed prior to the date of the deed. The Board of Commissioners sitting in St. Louis in 1834 rejected the claim, because the land was situated beyond the limits of the state, it being on an island in the Missouri River."

That deed of the Clamorgan heirs to Isaac T. Green, was entered of record just four years and eight months approximately before the Red Wing Land Company made its purchase in question. The tract was clearly located above Kansas City, and probably below the Missouri-Iowa boundary. It was, however, greater in extent than Dr. Harriott reports the Green "Claim" to be, but the other portion may have been previously sold. The overland trip on ponies by Dr. Harriott and the Messrs. Granger and Snyder, starting at St. Joseph, was probably due to their purpose to look over that "claim" located on either the Kansas or the Nebraska side of the Missouri River. Unfortunately Dr. Harriott's letter is not specific—the tract may have been above the junction of the Big Sioux with the Missouri at Sioux City.

The person or the prominence of Isaac T. Green is not clear. He was not a son of Gen. Duff Green, one time surveyor general of the territory and later prominent in state affairs in Missouri. The local annalists have given us no record of his life or doings. But the business records of St. Louis indicate that he was a man of potency of purse who cared little for place or publicity. One might suspect that he was possibly a man of straw, but Dr. Harriott's references to him, while meagre, are of a sort to imply that he and his associates conferred with an actual individual in St. Louis.

As some of the Clamorgan claims were "confirmed" it is not impossible that the Red Wing Purchase was not among that number. That some or many of them had a prima facie valid title is suggested by the fact that the first trial court handed down a favorable decision for the Clamorgan heirs or their assignees. If the transfer of the tract or claim to Isaac T. Green, recorded on February 16, 1852, was the tract purchased by Dr. Harriott's associates in the Red Wing Land Company it is highly probable that their title thereto was held insufficient in Justice Miller's sweeping decision reversing the favorable holding of the lower court.

Since the foregoing was written the Commissioner of the General Land Office at Washington, Hon. C. C. Moore, has written me that under date of August 8, 1859, a certificate was issued for 38,111.10 acres and sent on to the surveyor general at St. Louis for delivery to the parties entitled thereto; and in connection therewith it appears that suit was brought against Isaac T. Green for the amount of the purchase price named above, $6,000, which he resisted on the ground that the plaintiffs could not give valid title. Further, it is stated that the tract is described as being "an island in the Missouri River above the northwestern boundary of the state of Missouri" containing 150,162 arpens and 85 perches granted to Regis Loisel on March 25, 1800. This tract, however, from the record appears to be in the center of Wyoming and not on the Missouri. It is also described as "Cedar Island"—latitude 44° between 99 and 100 west longtitude in South Dakota, which may be the Cedar Island south of Chamberlain. But such a description does not seem to fit with what seems to be a fair inference from Dr. Harriott's letter. In view of Justice Miller's decision in 1880 it is fair to the Clamorgan heirs to state that the commissioner further says that of 20 claims presented by them some 18 were confirmed, but such confirmation was not a decision of the General Land Office, but of either Congress or of a Commission acting under Congressional authority.

at Spirit Lake in the northwest of Iowa where we have located a Town Site.

Remembrance to all enquiring
Yours &c &c as ever
I. H. Harriott

V

Spirit Lake Iowa
Thursday Dec 11th 1856

Dear Friends,

When last I wrote you I was in Red Wing on business and my time being almost wholly occupied I had not time to write you but a few lines, but now that I am at *home* and having a sufficiency of liesure, increased by one of my feet being badly frozen I will endeavor to write you a longer and hope more interesting letter but should I fail you must pardon the attempt. I believe the last letter I wrote you previous to the one in Red Wing was dated at Sioux City and since that time I believe you know but little of my travels. We left Sioux City on the third of July, followed up (2) the big Sioux River to the boundry line on the north between Iowa and Minnesota Territory, then turned our course east mostly following the boundry line, troubled much in crossing numerous streams sloughs swamps & marshes somedays almost melted by the noonday sun & at night nearly devoured by musquetoes Buffalo nats & various other insects indigenous to the vast prairies of the west. At one time without any thing to eat except raw pork for nearly three days not finding wood enough to cook, on the third day however we hove in sight of a small Lake surrounded by some scattering bur Oak trees it being about the middle of the afternoon we camped there til (3) the next morning when we resumed our journey much refreshed. We at length reached Spirit Lake on the 15th where we pitched tent intending to look around and see what the prospects were, After making a pretty thorough examination and finding the prospects favorable to our purpose we determined to locate a Town Site 8 miles South of the line and 5 miles south of the southern extremity of Spirit Lake, although I suppose they are all called Spirit Lake, but Spirit Lake is separated from the others by a narrow strip of land some 10 roods wide. We accordingly moved down to where we intended to or rather expected to see a city builded at some future day, hoping the day not far distant (4) the next day one of the company Capt Granger started for Red Wing on business relative to our expedition and to bring out supplies as we were at that time rather short. we busied ourselves a few days in assisting Esq Mattocks to build a log house preparatory to bringing out his family. Mattocks accompanied us from Sioux City with his team, being there in search of a farm on the frontier and not having found one there to his satisfaction concluded to look farther therefore accompanied us and having found one which fully satisfied him intended to start for his family as soon as he had completed a cabin, the cabin was soon completed nothwithstanding the

ungenerous treatment of the ten thousand and one musquetoes that were continually buzing about our eyes and ears (5) and not very seldom taking a nip As we were probably about the first whites they had ever seen they feasted bountifully upon our sunburned faces and necks to our no small annoyance. When Mattocks had left us there were but 3 of us, alone in the vast wilderness 40 miles at least from any settlements and with onley [sic] provisions enough to last one week the reason of our being so near out was because we intended when we left Sioux City to return in three weeks but not being permited to travel where we most wanted to without a pass from government and not having yet had time to procure a pass, we detirmined to make the most of our time, and as we had found a desirable location, which we had expected to have found settled (6) concluded to make the most out of it we could. We knew however that there was no danger of our starving as we had the very best of Indian Ponies that would soon carry us to a land of plenty, but then there would have been no need of that for the lakes abounded with fish of almost all kinds, which like the fish of the more northern Lakes are good even at this season of the year. Fortunately however, before we were entirely out of provisions there came along three men with their families hunting locations for farms, being satisfied with what they found here they concluded to settle, and having a good supply of flour we obtained some of them, but they like ourselves were out of pork as they expected to find plenty of Buffalo Elk Bear &c (7) of which to supply themselves with meat of which there are some remaining this near civilisation, but very wild and difficult to approach within shooting range. We now had plenty of flour, and hooks & lines with which to take of the finny tribe to our satisfaction for five long weeks we subsisted on bread & fish served up in the plainest style imaginable with the exception of 2 or 3 messes of pidgeons. I can assure you that we welcomed the arrival of Capt Granger with a load of provisions. Since that time we have busied ourselves making hay building log houses on our claims & on the town Site, made a trip to Sioux City for our trunks and a long & tedious trip to Red Wing with oxen for provisions for the winter. the trip there & back being about three hundred & fifty miles and that to be made with oxen. (8) fortunately for me however I had some business in Red Wing that I had to be there to attend to before I could reach there with the ox teams therefore on Saturday morning the 18th of October I started across the prairies without a path or road having been accustomed to that way of traveling I made a pretty direct course to Blue Earth City 80 miles distant, swam my Ponie across the Des Moine River and reached Lake Ocamampediia that night where I found quite comfortable quarters, 40 miles from home, Sunday morning I swam my Ponie across the outlet of one Lake into another thereby saving some 18 miles travel, I was obliged to leave him standing about ½ an hour after swimming the Lake and the morning being quite cold he took a violent cold which settled on his lungs I reached (9) Blue Earth City that night, having

some acquaintances there I stopped with them, next morning the Ponie was very sick and unable to travel. I remained with him until Wednesday morning doing all in my power to relieve his suffering, by that time I had him pretty well reduced, and thought that by proper care and nursing he had a fair prospect of recovering. left him with a farmer living close by, giving him strict directions as to the management of him &c&c although he did not exactly agree with me in some particulars yet he would follow my directions. I Started for Red Wing by rather a ciruitous route in company with Judge Wakefield[56] whose acquaintance I had made in (10) St Paul, and was then going there by the way of Mankato & Shakapu & down the Minnesota River. We were two days getting to Mankato distance 40 miles, the road being muddy and driving a horse that had not been fed any grain for a year completely gave out ere we reached there so that we were obliged to leave him, and the stage being full we were obliged to hire a private conveyance to carry us to Shakapu distance 50 miles, we succeeded in obtaining Carriage horses & driver to take us thither for the sum of $12, started about 2 P M the road being very bad we only made 15 miles that afternoon, put up for the night when the driver told us that taking into consideration the state of the roads, he should carry us no farther and demanded (11) $5 for carrying us that far which we refused to pay and did not, not even paying his bill at the hotel which was onley [sic] 2.50, therefore we were better off than he, as we were advanced on our journey 15 miles & he was 15 miles from home and 20 shillings out of pocket. We were unable the next day to get a conveyance of any kind but being in comfortable quarters, and plenty of good brandy & cigars, together with the company of the landlady and two very amiable daughters when ever we chose, for all of which we were indebted to, by the previous acquaintance of Judge Wakefield notwithstanding we were both in somewhat of a hurry we managed to spend our time very agreeably, when on the following day an express wagon (12) came along just after dinner in which we procured a passage to St Paul, & arrived there all right in due time. I there parted with the Judge & took a Steamer for Red Wing. I was in and about Red Wing two weeks started back on the 11th of Nov. three of us & two ox wagons I did not have to drive but then it was almost as bad having to be with them. we however enjoyed ourselves much camping out every night until we reached Blue Earth City, had the good fortune to meet Granger and Mattocks half way between Blucarth & home with more team and after that, on our first days travel a little incident occured which I will relate to you, that you may see that there is a good deal of reality in a frontier life (13) as well as some romance. We left Lake Ocamampediia on Wednesday morning expecting to reach home in two days there was a man living on the des Moine River about

[56]Judge James B. Wakefield, one of the founders of Blue Earth, Minnesota; later member of the State Legislature of Minnesota, House and Senate; lieutenant governor, 1876-80; and member of Congress, 1883-87. See Kiester, *History of Faribault County*, and *Biographical Directory of the American Congress*, 1775-1927.

half way between there and home we expected to reach there that night the snow being about 10 inches deep we had to travel very slow and not having got a very early start, night come on sometime ere we reached our destination, being Cloudy & very dark we lost our course, and no one knew which way we were going, after driving about 2 hours after dark we came to a halt. deeming it usiless [sic] to travel without knowing where we were going, when we commenced looking about (14) in various directions to ascertain where we were but to no use onley that it kept us warm walking about, at length we all returned to the wagons and held a consultation when Capt Granger concluded that he would go off in a certain direction thinking that he might discover the timber on the Des Moine we awaited his return about 2 hours, it then being midnight we came to the conclusion that he had got lost and could not find the wagons, we fired several guns, and concluded that we would do the best we could at making a bed in the wagon box, as we had one wagon which they had brought out with them that had but little in it we accordingly cleared (15) a space about 6 feet long and having plenty of bed clothes made our bed and turned in side by side three in a wagon box and one man weighing over 200, a pretty narrow berth, had ben in bed ½ an hour and got comfortablely warm when Granger returned having made no discovery, we then had to make some different arrangements to let him in, but our bed was onley [sic] 6 feet long and could not well be made any longer, we all piled in however two laying with their heads one way and the other two the other way and in that way we passed the remainder of the night, it was a very cold night Mercury about 10 degrees below zero, and having had no supper or any thing warm since morning, or anything (16) to create any artificial warmth excepting a five gallon keg of good old rye whiskey we stimulated considerably before we retired to rest. In the morning after taking a few observation we found we were with in about five miles of the place we had hunted for nearly all night. Remained on the Des Moine that day, and the next day friday the 28th of November we started for and reached reached home having been 2 weeks and 4 days on the return trip. On Sunday the 30th and last day of november we commenced keeping batchelors [sic] hall, it is not the first of our batching I would not have you infer and the reason for my saying commenced keeping batchelors hall is because we have been living in a tent all summer, and I may (17) as well state to you here that since the 10th of June I had not slept in the house 3 nights until I started for red Wing on the 18th of October, I wish you could see our hall, built of logs chinked with chunks, and daubed with mud, covered with shakes, thatched with hay, contains one room, is 20 feet long and 18 wide 8 feet in the clear, from floor to ceiling that is from where the floor should be to where the ceiling is supposed to be, the floor is a kind of subsoil two feet below the surface, our hall contains one door & one twelve light window, a fireplace in one end of it 12 feet wide into which we can put a cord of wood at once thereby saving time and

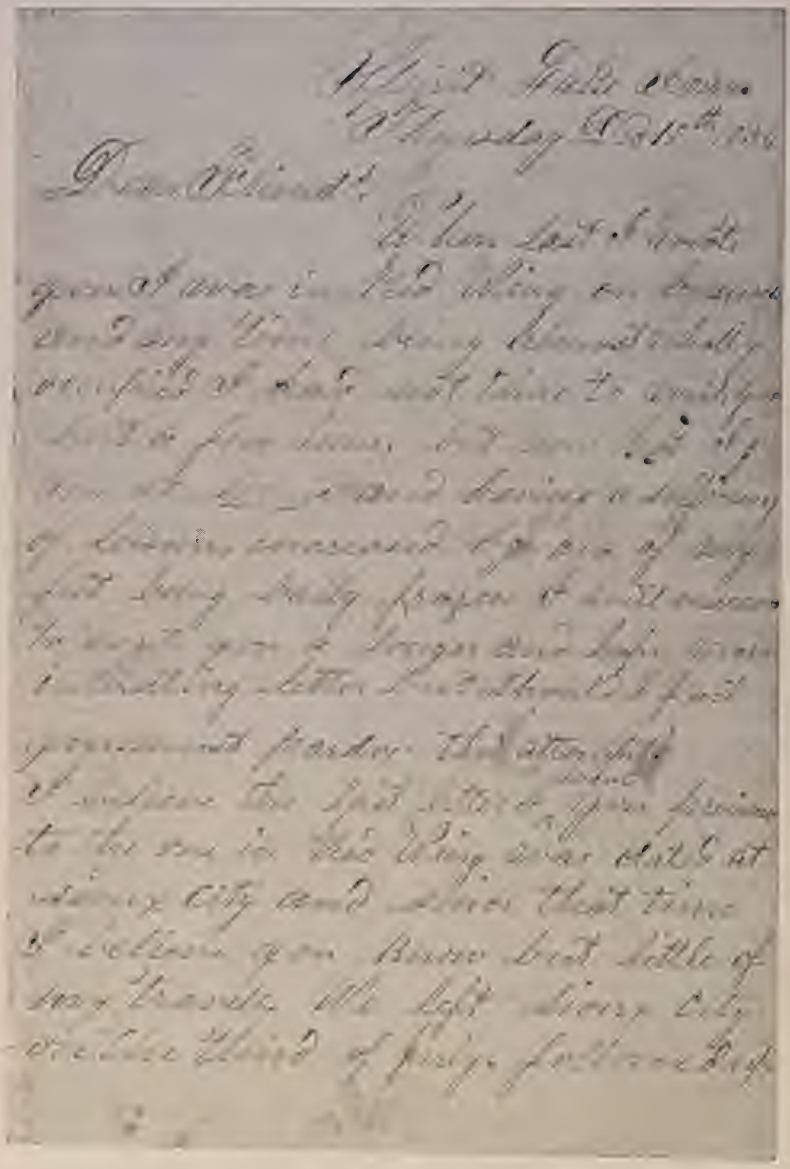
labor onley having to make a fire (18) twice a week. In short I tell you that our hall cannot be surpassed on the frontiers. We had been in our new mansion but 4 days, and had just got things arranged when I was informed that my claim had been jumped so on thursday the 4th of December a bitter cold day, I buckled on my revolver & hunting knife Shouldered my sharp shooter and walked out that way, thinking I might see an Elk in some of the groves along the Lake shores, took rather a circuitous course & coming through my grove which joins the Town Site, on my return home, finding no Elk, nor any one on my claim it was near night when I reached home, somewhat tired having been walking all day through snow fourteen inches deep and in some (19) places on the prairie where it had drifted, much deeper. On undressing my feet I found that the great toe on my right foot was frozen solid as far back as the second joint on the ball of my foot. I took the frost out by holding it in ice water for about two hours, but it was so badly frozen that it had to take its own course, it is just a week to day since it was frozen, I have suffered much with it, but now it is much better and I think will soon begin to heal. As soon as the frost was all out it began to swell and was very much swolen for two days which I reduced by polticeing, since then the flesh has been droping off, the nail come off and now I think it wil soon begin to heal unless the (20) bone should take a notion to fall off, but I do not think that is injured. I have not heard from home since I was there in May. Granger is going to start for red Wing in a few days and will probably go to St Louis before he returns to this place so that if you write me on receipt of this I will be in receipt of it at an early day direct to Red Wing Red Wing. My Ponie which I should have mentioned in another place, was quite well when I returned, and is now doing fine. thinking that by this time you will have got enough of my nonsense until another opportunity offers I close remaining as ever

I. H. Harriott

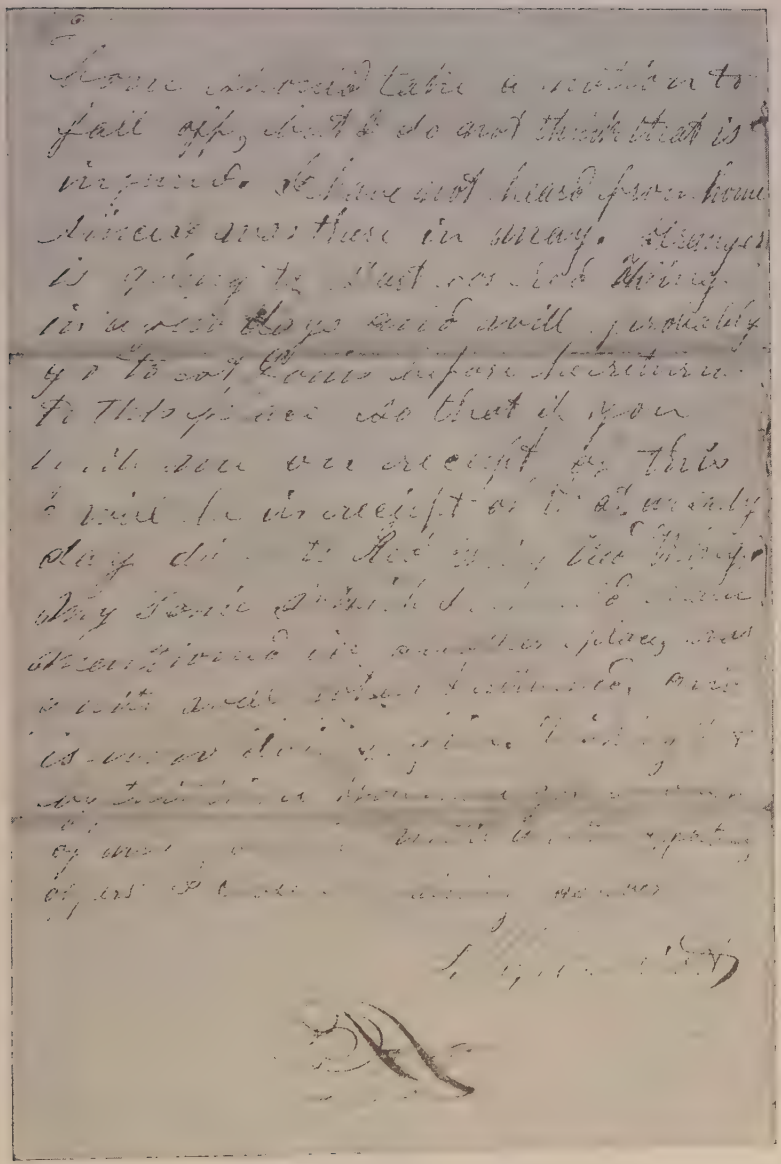
VII

Here should follow another letter of Dr. Harriott's; but for various reasons, good and bad, I am unable to reproduce it. In her *History of the Spirit Lake Massacre* published in 1885 Mrs. Abbie Gardner Sharp, in relating her personal recollections of the tragedy of which she was a victim, informs us that as it was known that her father, Rowland Gardner, was going to Fort Dodge on March 8 to purchase provisions, Dr. Harriott and Mr. Snyder came across the strait that morning with letters which they wanted him to mail for them.[57] They arrived, as we have seen, most opportunely, when the cabin was full of Indians who were then acting insolently and threateningly, and

[57]Mrs. Sharp, *History of the Spirit Lake Massacre*, p. 65.



Reproduction of first page of Dr. Isaac H. Harriott's letter, dated at Spirit Lake, Iowa, December 11, 1857.



Reproduction of last page of Dr. Isaac H. Harriott's letter, dated at Spirit Lake, December 11, 1857.

prevented the tragedy beginning at that time. As Mr. Gardner was fearful of trouble he decided not to start on his journey to Fort Dodge, some eighty or ninety miles distant, and Dr. Harriott retained the letter in his possession and returned with Mr. Snyder to their "mansion," as they facetiously called their cabin.

In his *History of Dickinson County* Mr. R. A. Smith, who was one of the members of the Relief Expedition, has the following statement at the close of his Chapter III, describing the events leading up to the Massacre:

> As before stated, the Indians went into camp near the Mattock cabin about the seventh of March. Their tepees were arranged in a circle on both sides of the road running from Mattock's place to Gardner's. The inhabitants here had received no intimation of the depredations committed by them along the Little Sioux [river] and had no apprehension of danger, and were, therefore, taken entirely by surprise. A letter found in the Granger cabin written by Doctor Harriott to his father, Judge Harriott, dated March sixth, throws some light on the matter. In this letter he refers to the fact that the Indians were camped there, that they were on friendly terms with them, and that they had done some trading with them. Other matters were referred to in the letter which showed that they had no suspicion of danger.[58]

Mrs. Sharp does not quote from or cite Dr. Harriott's letter of March 6th, although she makes mention of the letter having been written. Indeed, that letter and its writer's wish to have it mailed was the reason Dr. Harriott crossed the strait on the morning of that fatal Sunday to give it to Mr. Gardner to take to Fort Dodge. Mr. Smith, while referring to it, neither reproduces it nor quotes from it. So far as I can discover it has never been given to the public. A number of queries crowd forward.

When and by whom was that letter found? Major William Williams, who commanded the Relief Expedition, does not mention it in his report to Governor Grimes—at least that which is given in Mrs. Sharp's *History*.[59] In all of the memorabilia of the participants in the Relief Expedition no mention is made of the letter.

Was the letter ever forwarded to its addressee, Judge Harriott? and if so why was it not included in the letters of the family, the widow, and the grandmother? It seems unlikely that

[58]Smith, *History of Dickinson County*, p. 63.
[59]Mrs. Sharp, *History of the Spirit Lake Massacre*, Chapter XII.

members of the family would heedlesly give away a last letter written on the eve of such a devastating tragedy.

Mrs. Sharp did not return to Spirit Lake for twenty years or more when she began to gather her materials for her history. She quotes generously from sundry reports—Major Williams, Judge C. E. Flandrau, the agent of the Sioux who negotiated her release from captivity, Harris Hoover's personal memories of the Relief Expedition in the *Hamilton Freeman* of July 1, 1858[60]—and it is curious that she did not refer to, let alone quote, the letter or excerpts from it. She published several editions with sundry additions chiefly in Chapter XXVII, but she does not mention the letter. Judging from the letters of Dr. Harriott just set forth, and the characterization of the contents of the letter of March 6 offered us by Mr. Smith, there was nothing repellant in the letter that barred publication. Even if it contained intimate personalia intended for his father's eye we may assume with no hesitation that they were not unprintable, at least after a lapse of thirty to fifty years. All the more may we so assume if the letter had been given Mrs. Sharp by Dr. Harriott's sister, Mrs. Mary Ann Gordon, who became the administratrix of her father's estate on his death on August 2, 1869, or by other members of the family at Jerseyville. The reported presence of that letter in the Gardner cabin and its non-publication present a rather curious problem, which at present I cannot solve.

What use was made of Dr. Harriott's last letter other than as one of the "exhibits" shown to summer visitors to the Gardner cabin for which a money charge was made and exacted, I can only surmise. I regret that I did not have my present knowledge when years since I spent a summer at the Lakes and visited the cabin, for Mrs. Sharp, I am certain, would have been willing to have explained her possession of the letter. The present owner of the cabin, a grandson, has been more than indisposed to acknowledge, let alone answer, my direct inquiries. So I can give no satisfactory explanation of either the reported presence of the letter in the Gardner cabin, or of its non-publication, or even be certain of its actual existance, for I have received word

[60] *Ibid.*, Chapter XIV. Mrs. Sharp erroneously accredited Mr. Hoover's article to the *Fort Dodge Sentinel*. It appeared in Mr. Charles Aldrich's *Hamilton Freeman*. Mrs. Sharp corrected her later editions.

from correspondents that the letter has been mislaid or lost—at least it could not then be found.

The two letters of Judge Harriott to his mother, Mrs. Alford Harriott, then resident in Jerseyville, Illinois, which follow, call for neither glosses nor memoranda. The writer apparently dreaded telling his mother suddenly at the outset of the first letter of the reported death of her grandson at the hands of Indians, for it is clear inference from Dr. Harriott's letters that he was in more or less constant correspondence with her and she had an anxious concern for his daily doings and welfare, since he begins the letter with reference to some prosaic business transactions, then tells her of his election as judge of the Twenty-first Circuit Court of Illinois, over which he presided for the ensuing ten years. It may aid some to place him to learn that James Harriott was the presiding judge in the now noted trial of Duff Armstrong at Beardstown in May, 1858, when Abraham Lincoln secured the acquittal of the defendant upon the charge of murder, by the use of an almanac at the dramatic climax of the trial—a trial that has been the subject of multitudinous expositions and contention. The cool restraint of the judge's letters, the clear, easily running script of the pages, do not necessarily indicate or import coolness or lack of feeling, but the normal reserve of a Scotchman in the midst of stress.

I

Pekin April 18/57

Dear Mother

I thought when I last saw you that I would write to you as soon as I got home but it appears as if I get more & more to Occupy my time or else I dont accomplish much. Soon after returning home I Sold out the livery Stable to good advantage and got that off my mind. I got for it $4425. I also Sold about 30 lots in Pekin for $3000. The Legislature at its last Session made a new Judicial Circuit Composed of the counties of Woodford, Tazewell, Mason, Cass & Menard. And on the 9th day of March I was elected Judge of that Circuit. I have held court in Woodford & Tazewell counties and tomorrow commence court in Mason County—hold there 2 weeks then in Cass 2 Weeks & then 2 weeks in Menard.

I have also some very bad news, from every thing I can learn the Indians have massacred and killed Isaac and all the whites in that Settlement—being in number from 20 to 40 killed and missing, it is barely possible that he may have escaped. It took place on the 9th of March and if he had got away I think we would have heard of him

before this time. they were in the State of Iowa near the Minnesota line at a place called Spirit Lake, where Isaac had laid out a town called Spirit Lake.

The news of the murders I got from the news Papers published in Minnesota.

If I can I shall visit the place the ensuing Summer and learn the particulars. I shall also try and visit you after I get round my circuit

Yours Truly

JAMES HARRIOTT

II

Pekin July 6, 1857.

Dear Mother

On the third day of June I left home to See if I could find the remains of My Son—Went to Red Wing And there ascertained that the Spot could be Shown me. I then went to St Paul & procured a metallic Coffin & returned to Red Wing & from there Started in Company with 3 Others across the Country mostly uninhabited 160 miles to the Spirit Lake Settlement, which took us eleven days to make our way there. after getting we opened a hole in which 15 Bodies had been put, examined and turned over 10 & the eleventh one we came to proved to be Isaac. I cut open his clothes & Examined his wounds which were One Buck Shot in the right breast Ball glanced off and lodged in the right arm, which proved that he had his arm up in the act of firing his rifle when he received it. 2 Buck Shot and 1 Ball in the Back—left arm Broken with a Ball—the forehead cut entirely off. He had his Revolver in his hand when found with 3 Barrels discharged. in the wound in his breast he had Stuffed One corner of his handkerchief to Stop the hemmorage, his Rifle I recovered, Still covered with Blood. from his finger I took 2 Rings, one having the initials of his name marked inside, his watch happened to be in Red Wing & I also got that, his Revolver I could not get. I took his Body and Buried it on a Beautiful Mound on his Own claim, there let his remains rest, his claim was and is every thing that Nature could do for Beauty. I never Saw any place half So handsome in a state of nature.

I got home the 3d day of July having been gone One month, had a hard tiresome journey, and although I had the hardest kind of fare and not enough of even that, laid out doors on the Prairie with Green grass for a Pillow and the sky for a covering, have been waded Sloughs & Streams—been wet through for 3 days at a time, yet I have been well all the time and did not even take Cold. I did not get near enough to any Indians to have a fight, though we prepared for a fight Once, but as we approached they proved to be a Party of Government Surveyors.

More some other time, this is the first letter I have written Since I returned. I have about 40 now lying before me to answer, this although not as much as you would like nor as much as I should like to com-

municate will satisfy you of my Safe return within the pale of civilization

Yours Truly
JAMES HARRIOTT

Several facts in the last letter may be noted. First, the story that is a part of the traditions at the Lakes is that Dr. Harriott had fired but one barrel of his revolver when he was struck down. This apparently is in error, as three barrels of the cylinder were empty. Second, his wounds conclusively demonstrate that the fight was fast and furious before he was overcome. Third, the handkerchief which Dr. Harriott had stuffed in his breast wound, suggests that he was a pretty cool hand in the crash of things about him. Fourth, the latter fact may have some bearing upon whether he shot more than one Indian and made more than one of Inkpaduta's bloodthirsty braves bite the snow in that frightful struggle on the shores of the Okobojis.

The reticence of Judge Harriott does not permit us to see or to infer what else he saw on the north side of the strait, or within the environs of his son's "mansion." He does not indicate whether he was the one who found his son's letter in the Granger cabin. He does not tell who accompanied him from Red Wing to Spirit Lake. He does not intimate that any one was then living within the region immediately terrorized by the Massacre, and probably there were none venturesome enough at that time—only three months after the catastrophe—to try to establish themselves at the Lakes.

The site of Dr. Harriott's grave was on a knoll "about three-quarters of a mile," Mrs. Sharp informs us, "southeast of Dixon's Beach." It was marked by some boulders which Judge Harriott assembled there. About 1883 Mrs. Sharp planted an evergreen tree by those boulders to signify the tribute of her girlhood memories of the young doctor from Red Wing.[61] All writers and latter-day summer sojourners at the Lakes agree with Judge Harriott's estimate of the beauty of the nearby landscape. In 1895 all bodies of the victims were taken up and buried in front of the east front of the Spirit Lake Monument erected by the State of Iowa in front of the Gardner cabin.[62]

[62]Smith, *Ibid.*, p. 571.
[61]*Ibid.*, pp. 128-129.

WILLIAM SALTER—PHILOMETHIAN[1]

By Philip D. Jordan

The college literary society of the nineteenth century was a far more important activity in the lives of undergraduates than such organizations are at present. The United States was young enough, in its middle period, to furnish endless questions, social, economic, and political for debate, and was youthful enough still to be developing its early literature. It is little wonder then that any wideawake student of the 30's would be orating, declaiming, and debating in the fever of his time.

William Salter (Nov. 17, 1821-Aug. 15, 1910), Iowa clergyman, author, and historiographer, entered New York University for his higher education when the literary society was one of the most ambitious of all undergradute interests.[2] At this time he had just passed his fifteenth birthday. Possessing a remarkably alert intellect, it is not surprising that he should have been elected to membership, November 7, 1836, in the Philomethian Society of his university.[3] He was the eighty-fifth[4] man to be elected to the group which had been founded and organized on Monday evening, October 29, 1832, with twelve students present.[5] The first president of the Society was Samuel A. Hammet, New York City, who was expelled April 4, 1834, by action of the Society and notice sent not only to him, but also to Samuel A.

[1]I am much indebted to Messrs. George and Sumner Salter, of Burlington, Iowa, and New York City, for their generous aid and courteous assistance; to Dr. T. F. Jones, of the library of New York University, for permitting me to examine the original records of the Philomethian Society and for the photostat and permission to reproduce the program of the Seventh Anniversary of the Society; and to Mr. Louis Fox, of the newspaper research department of the New York Public Library, for the innumerable courtesies he has extended me. I have also to thank Mr. Edgar R. Harlan and his associates of the Annals of Iowa for their interest in Salter material and their willingness to publish such manuscripts for the future use of those scholars interested in the members of the "Iowa Band" and in the history of the commonwealth of Iowa.

[2]See the *Dictionary of American Biography* for a short sketch of William Salter's life and for a select Salter bibliography. This volume, at the moment, is still in the hands of the editors.

[3]The source material for this and the following facts is to be found in two unpublished volumes, the *Record Book* of the Philomethian Literary Society of the University of the City of New York from 1832 "to the end of time," and the *Minute Book* of the Philomethian Society of the University of the City of New York. Hereafter the *Record Book* will be cited in the footnotes as *R. B.* and the Minute Book as *M. B.* The date of Salter's admission into the Society is found in *R. B.* p. 4.

[4]*Ibid.*

[5]*M. B.* p. 1.

Hammet, Senior.[6] The rival group to which Salter belonged was the Eucleian Society, and the records of the Philomethians show ample evidence of cunning and treason on the part of some of its members.

At the organization meeting a series of resolutions was adopted and these later became the constitution to which candidates must pledge allegiance before becoming a member.[7] Some of the resolutions to which Dr. Salter pledged his support follow:

I. No person shall be admitted a member of this Society without the votes of three-fourths of the members.

III. Each member shall pay three dollars a year for the support of the Society and for the formation of a Library.

IV. The payment of said fee shall be in monthly payments of 25 cts. in advance.

V. Each member on subscribing to the Constitution shall pay the initiation fee of 50 cts., for those who join within one month from this time, and $1 for those who join after that time.

X. If a member be absent without good excuse he shall be fined 25 cts.

XIV. The President shall have the power of fining for disorderly conduct at the meetings, the maximum of that fine being 25 cts. and the minimum being 6¼ cts. except in extraordinary cases when it shall be put to the vote of the Society.

XXV. This Society shall be known by the name of "The Philomethian Society."

XXVI. The objects of this Society shall be exercises in Debating, Oratory, and Composition.[8]

These provisions form the nuclei of the Society of which Dr. Salter was a most active participant, was president, and twice secretary during his years at New York University.[9] It may be truly said that he labored diligently to realize the motto of the Society: "The noblest ends by honest means are our delight."[10]

It is seldom that the literary productions of a man destined to become prominent in his sphere of life are preserved in their original; it is even more unusual to have such productions preserved when they were penned in the years before twenty.

[6] *Ibid.* p. 51; *R. B.* p. 1.

[7] These primary resolutions were revised in part and later were printed as a twelve-page pamphlet: *Constitution and By-Laws of the Philomethian Society of the University of the City of New York.* Founded October 29th, 1832. Published by Order of the Society. New York: Printed at the University Press, 1835.

[8] *M. B.* pp. 1-3.

[9] *R. B.* p. 4.

[10] *M. B.* Title page.

Yet Dr. Salter carefully saved a part of the manuscripts which he presented to the Philomethian Society,[11] and recently these have been located. They consist of five items, all delivered in the years 1838, 1839, and 1840.

Arranged and classified as to form there are three essays, "Influence of One Man, Republicanism, and Duty"; one narrative, "Record of Summer Travel During Vacation"; and one poem, "Eloise." The "Eloise" was delivered upon the occasion, March 11, 1840, of the eighth annual program to celebrate the anniversary of the Society.[12] The other manuscripts were probably delivered at the regular meetings of the Society.[13] On November 23, 1838, Dr. Salter read his little essay, "Influence of One Man"; on March 22, 1839, the "Records of Summer Travels During Vacation"; and on November 9, 1839, the "Duty."

This collection of five manuscripts is being reprinted here, not because of their high literary quality, for, in truth, they are redundant, pompous, and grandiloquent in many instances, but because they represent the earliest known literary efforts of a man who was to play a most important part in the history of the far west as teacher, preacher, author, and historian. As the years advance the importance of Dr. Salter's contributions will be increasingly recognized, and the day will sometime come when every fragment of his work will be eagerly sought. On the other hand, the literary quality of these essays is far above that displayed by the average eighteen-year-old boy, and shows a maturity of thought, a sense of balance and organization, a knowledge of unity and coherence, and an appreciation of the

[11]We know, for instance, that he presented a paper as a part of the Sixth Anniversary program, for there is preserved in the library of New York University a printed program which reads: "Sixth Anniversary/ of the Philomethian Society/ of the/ University of the City of New-York,/ on/ Wednesday Evening, Dec. 5th, 1838./ Windt, printer. 152 Chambers street."/ Nine orations and declamations, each followed by music, are listed on this bill. No. six is "The South" by William Salter.

[12]A printed program for the occasion (which is reproduced as a part of this article) is on file in the library of New York University and reads: "Seventh Anniversary/ of the/ Philomethian Society,/ in the University Chapel,/ on/ Wednesday Evening, March 11, 1840,/ at seven o'clock."/ Dr. Salter was fifth upon the program. I have examined the newspapers carefully for mention of this anniversary celebration and find nothing except the following in *The Evening Post* (New York) under date of Tuesday, March 10, 1840: "The Philomathean Society of the University, held their seventh anniversary in the University Chapel on Wednesday evening at 7 o'clock."

[13]Both the *Minute Book* and the *Record Book* are incomplete for the years between 1836 and 1840 when Dr. Salter was a member, so it is impossible to have a complete record, from the minutes and records, of his appearances upon programs. Had it not been for the manuscripts here reprinted knowledge of Philomethian activities for the years mentioned would be meager indeed.

written word. Their youthful rawness is only a part of their charm.

The five manuscripts are reprinted here and then follows a short conclusion. In so far as possible I have followed the original spelling and punctuation of the author.

INFLUENCE OF ONE MAN[14]

A consideration of the influence for weal or woe which one man may exert over his fellows should induce us so to live that our example may be as beneficial as it may be impressive. The power of one mighty mind cannot be overrated, for who can set bounds to the ever active impulses of genius? What can imagination, even in its brightest visions, devise so stupendous as the results which the genius of one man may effect. The New World was never dreamt of untill the close of the fifteenth century. And what we are we owe, under, God, to one man. Homer made Greece the home of poesy and art and eloquence. Without her Homer we should not have had her Sophocles, her Pericles, or her Demosthenes; and the marble of Phidias were still dumb in the quarry. Homer still lives, for the influence of his spirit is not yet dead from the earth.

Peter made Russia. Everything in that extensive country bears marks of his character. One master spirit may do anything. He may make his people a nation of lore and song, a nation or music and gay delight; or he may mould them to his will as a wild and warlike race delighting in feats of blood. The mass of mankind are weak and easily led by a skillful hand. There is no barrier which such a man may not overcome. No thought of his soul which he may not execute. Our duty, taught by the monitor within, of endeavoring to make our influence felt in time to come, is a noble and sublime, no less than pleasing, duty. The thought of the influence of our actions and of the good name which awaits us after death, and the recollections of having promoted the plans of liberty and happiness will alleviate the pains of the hour when the hand of death presses heavy on the breast. These thoughts on "the influence of one man" were suggested by reading some account of the distinguished Lord Chatham. England was in the most disastrous condition—desrespected abroad, misrule at home (when "both parties seemed actuated by the one only passion, the thirst for power and gain") (besieged France). In such a state was the British Empire when Chatham took the helm; and what a change did this master mind effect. His country was victorious by land and sea. The Canadas and many of the W. Indies were captured. France was besieged and humbled and success crowned every effort of Pitt. "These," said Walpole, "are the doings of Mr. Pitt and they are wondrous in our eyes." It's a noble example of the influence of one great genius. Pitt is known the world

[14]The manuscript carries no title, but the sheet is folded lengthwise and on the outside is written, in Dr. Salter's hand, the following: "Influence of one Man." Then follows: "Philomethian Society, Nov. 23rd. 1838. W. S."

over. Every state in our Union has her towns derived from his name. There are Pittsburghs and Pittsfields, but not till long after they have crumbled into their native dust shall the name of Pitt be forgotten. Above all may we imitate his goodness ever more than his greatness.

A FEW THOUGHTS ON REPUBLICANISM WITH A WORD ON MONARCHY[15]

In our day there is no more interesting subject than the question of government. This is well; and we mark the fact as evidence of the advancement of mankind in the pursuits calculated to cause that perfectibility, the attainment of which should be the first grand object of our existence. We think our institutions best adapted to this end, as their foundation stone like that of the Kingdom of God is laid on the eternal principle of Freedom. For in our day dreams of the better world above we have fancied all its inhabitants as living in unison in like situation.

We are sorry we cannot at this time bestow upon the subject the attention it deserves; we will however, though hastily, look at it a moment because we deem it a question not to be irreverently or unjustly disputed. And when we mark the prevalence of opinions false to our Father and to Posterity we should feel ill at ease did we not look well to the business.

God has sent us into this world with powers to know the right, to love for their own sake justice and freedom and every virtue. Reason is indeed God's voice within, and if we prevent its teachings and disobey the still small whisper we wrong our Great Father and we wrong ourselves. Selfishness is not a principle of our nature. He, whose mental vision is not large enough to take in the whole family of mankind, who cannot forget himself, knowing that he is but an atom of one stupendous whole, has derived his wisdom not from the Book of Nature, not from converse with his Maker in Heaven, or with good men upon earth, but in some narrow dwelling where he has grown up ignorant of the fact that the sun shines for all, that the rain falleth in the remotest isles of the sea as plenteously as at his own door. The wind bloweth where it listeth; the bird wingeth her way or midst the blue expanse, or over the deep, amid the haunts of men, or in the wildwood.

The soul of man may ascend highest heaven, or dive deep in the dread below, building his castles and giving to nothingness a local habitation and a name. While forsooth this divine frame made after the image of its Creator must bend and cringe to forms as frail and evanscent. No, tis a glaring absurdity. We know better. There is nothing mortal worthy of our veneration. The undying part alone of a great man we love and adore. God is no respecter of persons and why should we set upon arbitrary distinction among children of one common household. All else is free. Our chances of life are equal.

[15]Presented January 25, 1839.

God's offers of pardon are free to all. Death distinguishes not the palace from the hovel. Each shall alike moulder into dust.

Thus we see that Freedom is natural to us. We also find that a free government is best adopted for selfish purposes. Be the object power—what state so mighty as the Roman Republic. The Historian tells us that all her great battles were fought and won while she was a free government. Be the end in view honor, wealth, science, letters, poetry and philosophy what state so preeminent as Athens. Be the object all these, united with virtue and religion, where a nobler example than these United States. True there are evils in our system. But shall we at this day look for perfection? As well might we expect the median sun at morning. Did we not err, we would not be men. Our country needs not eulogies. The history of her rise will sooner arouse the nobler emotions of the soul, will sooner call the tear, than the mightest tales which are told of the great songsters of the olden time.

Turn our glance across the ocean to our Fatherland. She is indeed our Fatherland. Her men of might are peculiarly our Fathers as they all with prophetic eyes beheld the vision of a people struggling to be free. Shakespeare's every page is marked with evidence that the Spirit of Liberty exerted her potent sway over his mind. Milton sings to us the praises of

"The Mountain Nymph, Sweet Liberty."

Goldsmith once left the paternal roof determined to spend his days in the new world. Cowper tells us

"All constraint
Except what wisdom lays on evil men,
Is evil; hurts the faculties, impedes
Their progress in the road of science; blinds
The eyesight of discovery; and begets
In those that suffer it, a sordid mind
Bestial, a meagre intellect, unfit
To be the tenant of man's noble form."

Byron respected our institutions. Coleridge and Southey in early manhood made their plans to abandon the evils of the old world, and live in perfect freedom in the new. Look at her great statesmen. Chatham and Burke and Burghas have ever maintained the most generous sentiments in favor of human Liberty: and to this hour the laugh has not ceased at the mock heorical coronation of a young woman. Is England in a happy condition? Look at bleeding Ireland, at suffering Canada, at dissatisfaction at home, at her miserable paupers disgorged upon our shores. None but the rich and the bigoted are admitted into her Universities. A tax is paid for every ray of light that illumines their dwellings.

Let no one then praise England to the disparagament of these United States. If so inclined, let him not again obtrude obnoxious sentiments

upon an audience of peermen. Let him read the New York Review less, and let him study the history of *our own dear land* more. Nor again let him make the absurd statement that because a thing is old, it is therefore good. China is the oldest government. The worship of the sun of the old Persians remains to this day. Time and circumstances change, and shall we stand still. No, the fire of Freedom must spread. Despotism's towers must be overthrown. For virtue and justice and pure undefiled religion cannot prevail untill the altar of Liberty is rearer fast by the throne of God to which the only access may be with hearts free and generous as the light of Heaven. If we have expressed ourselves warmly and homely, Mr. Editor, tis in a worthy cause.

DUTY[16]

We are of those who in all God's universe find nothing so awful, so beautiful, so sublime as the mind of man. The blue sky and the green fields are lovely, but they are passing away. The sun at noon and at set of day is splendid and beautiful, but 'ere long his fires shall go out. The ocean calm and the hushed wind are sweet as the thoughts of infancy; the mighty waves and the wild tempest are grand; but the sea shall be dried up, and the dead both small and great which are in it shall come forth.

> Not Chaos, not
> The darkest pit of lowest
> Nor ought of blinded vacancy, scooped out
> By help of dreams, can breed such fear and awe
> As fall upon us often when we look
> Into our minds, into the mind of man.

Our capabilities are hedged in by the foul circumstances and conditions of this life, and the glories of the ocean deep are covered from view by the riffles and commotions of the surface. But even here we find an opportunity for the exercise of some part of the immortal within us; it's fetters and clogs may be somewhat resisted and cast off. There is attainable even here a higher and purer state, a loftier field of action than that on which most of us move. A contemplation of this state and of the means by which it is to be arrived at, may have an ennobling effect on the mind. To this end let us consider during the moment alloted us a part of this great subject.

Duty is our theme, Duty the word, the feeling we would impress upon every man. God formed man in his own image, and he breathed into him the breath of life, and man became a living soul. In that soul God placed desires and emotions, he placed the sentiment that we ought to do right and that we ought not to do wrong. Though neglected and forgotten he has not permitted it to go out from the soul of man,

[16]On the outside of the manuscript, itself folded lengthwise, appears "Duty—Nov. 9, 1839—University Chapel. W. S." I do not know whether this means that the Society met, in regular session, in the University Chapel, or whether this particular manuscript was read before the student body convened in the University Chapel.

but claims for it the same regard, the same attention, and the same obedience required from our first parents; and the question with us is —shall we give it heed?

It is the purest, the noblest impulse of our being. "The angelic nature," says Coleridge, "would act from impulse alone"; they enjoy perfect bliss in doing right, in living and obeying God. Their souls smile within them, and God smiles upon them.

As well being is intimately connected with well doing he who does his duty enjoys the consequences, but these were nothing and less than nothing in comparison with the peace of his own bosom which is not to be estimated by silver or gold, or judged of by this week day world.

But it may be interesting to look at the consequences. We shall see that the highest endeavors have been made and the most beneficial actions performed, by those who have acted from the impulse of duty.

Socrates, when before the tribunal of The Five Hundred, accused of having corrupted the Athenian youth and of having done impiety to the Gods, declared that his wish was to make his fellow citizens happy, and it was a *duty* commanded by the Gods, whose authority, said he, turning to his judges, "I regard more than yours." Martin Luther opposed the sale of indulgences because he thought it his duty, and guided by this feeling, rescued the mind of man from the thick ignorance and darkness of Romish Superstition. Before the Diet of Worms he declared that his *Conscience* would not permit him to do otherwise than he had done; and when reproached for the boldness and austerity of his conduct, answered, "If I must necessarily have some failing let me rather speak the truth with too great severity, than once to act the hypocrite and conceal the truth." Who can estimate how great the debt we, who love pure and undefiled Religion, owe Martin Luther?

Yearly we celebrate with orations and poems and great joy the birth of our nation. This is well. Our Fathers, knowing their rights, declared it to be their *duty* to defend those rights. He, who, resigning the attractions of a delightful home, and fair domains, and even turning not back to receive the parting embrace of a much loved wife, led them on to Liberty, was actuated by no other impulse than that of duty. They who have read his correspondence upon his acceptance of his appointment as Major General of the Continental Armies and at the time of his inauguration as President will remember this. In his Farewell Address he says that his acceptance of office has been "a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty".

Thus we have given these glorious examples of men who have acted from an exalted sense of *duty*—Socrates, Luther, and Washington. I need not allude to the results which have followed from their high endeavors. For all that is true and beautiful in Philosophy, for all that is pure and holy in Religion, for all that is dear to the heart of man in Freedom we are beyond measure indebted to these high-thoughted men. And now for the future shall we give good heed to the calls of Duty? Shall she be our guide and our mistress, conducting us safely through our way of life?

How brightly will the sun shine on the day when all men shall acknowledge Duty as the principle of their life, when each man shall be true, true to his own soul, true to his fellows, true to his God. Then shal Beauty and Peace be all prevading spirits. Love and Truth will descend into every bosom. Interest, lost sight of, will wither and die; and the Spirit of Evil, unable to find a resting place, will hie away to the mountains and bury itself beneath the rocks.

RECORDS OF SUMMER TRAVEL DURING VACATION, JULY-SEPTEMBER 1838[17]

Twas the last of July. The season was uncommonly warm. Our great cities were almost deserted; and men, and women too, roamed to the forest North in quest of cool shades and lofty eminences, as retreats from the heat and disagreeableness of more sunny places. They who sought the hills of New Hampshire sought not in vain; for though the heat of the sun there was intense, yet the genial breezes and the mountain chill formed the delightful *medias res* of climate, which, as in all things else, is the most pleasing and in accordance to Nature. There are other attractions beside the fine climate. But, as in the motherland, the Highlands of Scotland are forgotten by the tourists of our day, who in crowds may flock to mere fashionable places; so with us, the romantic scenery of New Hampshire and other states gives way to Saratoga and spots of as paltry and sickly consideration. *Odi vulgum.* We mean as Horace meant, for though some vulgar things may be good in themselves, yet we loathe them because so many small people seem to love them. We have no faith in the dictum than a king can do no wrong, and the majority is our king, and we see it too plainly manifested, to doubt, that our king is as fallible as his Royal Highness himself.

We were one of a small party eager to see a little of the Granite State. It is the home of our Fathers, and we have some proud feelings about us in knowing for ourselves that the land is a fit muse of manly thought and high elevation of soul. She has produced some of the noblest names in our Union. Not to speak of living worthies she has her Starke, her Dearborn, her Langdon, and her Sullivan. Her sons were "the full blooded Yankees" of the Revolution. She abounds too in the legends of the early time. She has the singular fortune of having produced the only native resident of this continent knighted by the British Crown. Honest Sir William Pepperall was no mean man in his generation, but of him perhaps hereafter.

The most beautiful part of New Hampshire is decidedly that on the Connecticut River, but for the present we speak of Lake Winnipipeogee and the neighboring region. The guide post had proclaimed the bay two miles farther on, the sun had set most gorgeously behind the hills, when the grandeur of the scene, which defies description, burst upon

[17]Presented to the Society March 22, 1839. I have searched the files of the *New York Post* for mention of the articles referring to the missing Indian, but did not find it. However, it probably appeared in another of the New York papers.

us. We could not see the waters of the Lake but as reflected in the low Heavens which surrounded the Hills. Some of our party thought the reflection the real waters. But the appearance was too grand and extensive long to deceive us. The islands dotting the wide expanse seemed like the fairy regions of the blessed. We drove on briskly and soon saw our illusion dispelled. The dark Hills before us, the still waters and the dim twilight formed a most romantic scene. About a mile from the lake we tarried for the night. The next morning at 8 we were on board the little steamboat "Belknap" named after the historian of the state. We need not add our testimony to the sketches which romantic travelers have given of the beauties of Lake Winnipipeogee. The Red Man thought them "the Beautiful Waters". Here perchance was the scene of his early lives and affections. Here as his bark glided by moonlight "the witchery of the soft blue sky would melt into his heart." Here the reflections of departed spirits, the stories of his fathers' deeds, the bright anticipations of the grand hunting grounds and big waters through which those fathers roamed in eternal peace, and the warnings which every breeze seemed to bear in his soul would rouse his slumbering energies and call to exercise his every faculty. Here he would vow eternal hatred to his fathers' foe, here pledge eternal friendship to that fathers' friend. On some of these islands he often would tell his offspring of the Great Spirit, of his thunder and lightning, and of his goodness and kindness. Here, as the victor returned from the war, went up the shout, the revel and the dance. These waters once echoed the death sound that the paleface had come. They were once stained with the deep dye of human blood. Such reflections steal over the soul and engross our whole attention so that we neglect the sublime view of the mountains rearing their awful heads in the distance.

One practical observation however we made, if the hearer will pardon its introduction at this time, showing the power of early association—that a great many of those living in the neighborhood follow the sea as a profession. On board our boat was one who had just returned from a whaling voyage, and he told me that many of his fellows in childhood spent half their days on the lake, and from this arose an invincible desire of seeing, the fathomless sea, the ever fresh and ever free.

But the lake is crossed and we bend our steps to the pleasant inn at Centre Harbor. We finish this most delightful day in friendly talk with mine hostess, in trout fishing at the lake, and in preparation for an ascent on the morrow to the summit of The Red Hill. Sad dreams of time and change and desolation steal over us and with the rosy morn we gladly rise. Two hundred years since, O Sun, with what devotion was't thou welcomed! The young warrior blessed thy earliest beam and by thy light kindled the council fire. Perchance at the latter day thou wilt be nigh to blind and overpower us all: and the bad man shall flee for purification to thy fires, but to linger out in endless misery the recollections of the deeds to which thou was't a witness.

About 8 o'clock we set out with all suitable preparations on our proposed excursion. We rode within three quarters of a mile of the summit. The rest of the way was more difficult. Here the nature of every one of our party was dveloped. I know not that I have made mention of her who was the soul and originator of the ramble. She was a resident of one of those beautiful towns which deck the coast of New England from New Haven to Portland. Her father had in early life amassed by dint of enterprise and labor an honourable fortune, and was in every way worthy his daughter. She was Mehitable R., named in respect to the good grandame who yet survives a pattern of meekness and patience though oppressed with grevious bodily ills. Mehitable, above all the ladies I have ever met with, had a beautiful mind, nor do I mean accomplishments and finery or even mere knowledge. She was above them all. If a beautiful mind is a Spirit pervading a whole frame, humble and contented, being its own delight, goodness its preeminent quality—then had Mehitable a beautiful mind indeed. Well was she designated, by one of our party a young officer of The Army lately from the far West, on the language of one of the Indian tribes He-e-ladee, The Pure Fountain. Her influence was universal. I said above that in the ascent the nature of each of us was developed. One bold as an eagle. Another timid and calculating. The active however were always the most successful. Having gained the eminence we were well repaid for the little difficulty—had there been no other pleasure than the view. [Here five lines are torn from the manuscript.] This is supposed to have given rise to the name.

On a rock we spread our luncheon and were engaged in an interesting discussion concerning the mysterious fate of the red Lords of the soil when we were suddenly startled by the noise of some one approaching from below. Imagine our feelings when the face of an Indian, bearing deep traces of a rough journey through life, was discerned. Middle aged he appeared, but his activity plainly showed that the fire of his soul was not yet dim. Being well clad, his head bent, unarmed and of noble mein a thousand fancies presented themselves to us before he noticed us. When he discovered us he hesitated a moment but as though occupied with other thoughts kept due on. The young Officer whom we have casually mentioned made bold, and notwithstanding the entreaties and arguments of most of us to the contrary, saluted him in English first, and then in the dialect of one of the Western tribes. To the latter he replied. After the customary remarks of recognition he motioned to move on, but paused a moment to reply to the question: "How far was the end of his journey?"

"I go," says he, "to the graves of my fathers at yonder eminence."

"Oh, let us go," spoke Mihitable in the gushing forth of a warm heart, which the Army Officer interpretating, the red man looked to Heaven and answered "well".

With anxious step we followed. Not a word broke upon the solemn silence. Soon we reached the eminence. The Red man's heart then burst. O the anguish of that soul! The thoughts of that bosom who can

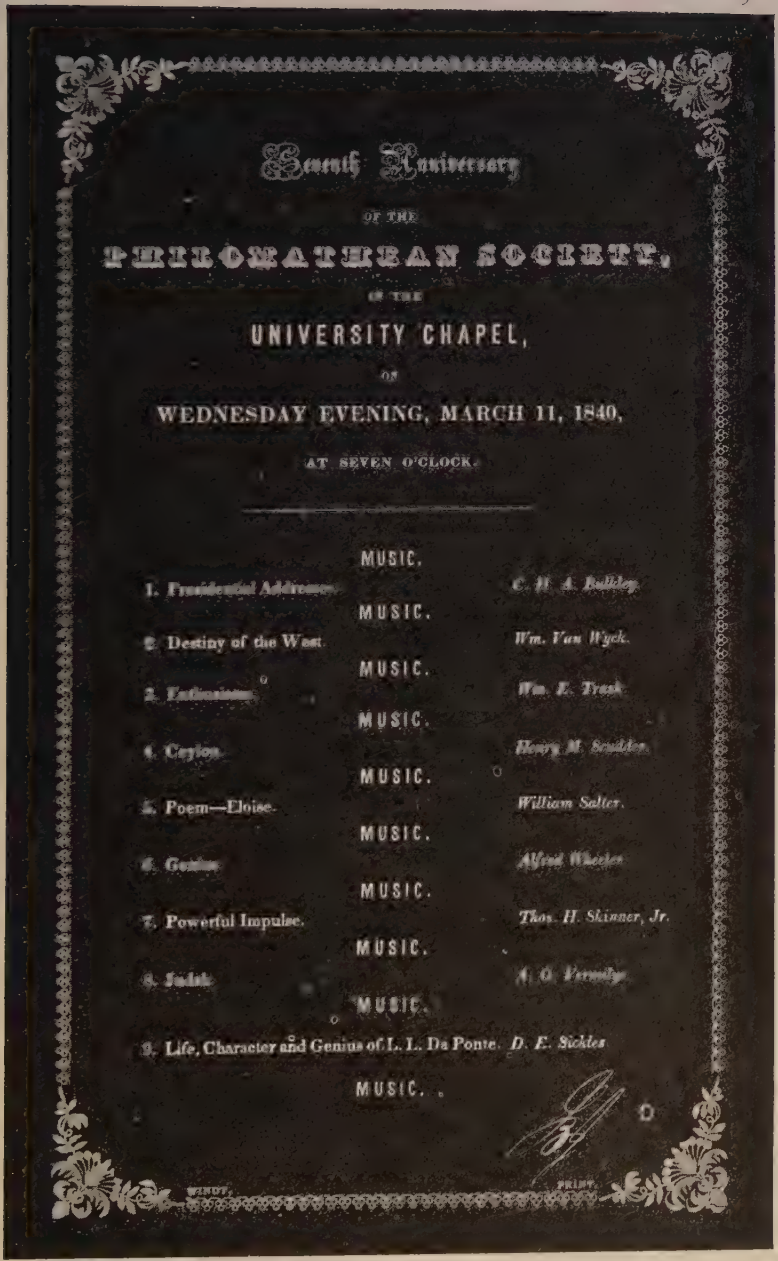
tell! He who knew not fear, whose life had been as those fabled seas which experience no calm was no prostrate as a child moaning in very distraction of spirit at the grave of his ancestors. The tie which connected him with them was long, and it may be that some of the links were forgotten. But here were his fathers. Mighty and resistless had they been, numerous and happy. Nor want nor ill had o'er them e'en spreadith blighting cloud. We cross the big waters and wander a stranger in distant lands and sigh o'er the remains of those to whom we are connected only by the page of the historian or the poet; of when gray haired tradition fails, tis all the mere matter of fact—they were and this remains. Yet the bard has at such scenes lighted up a flame which the world will not let die, and the traveler at the ruins of a people to whom he is connected only in fancie's wizard wand pays willing homage. How more affecting, how more natural the visit of the poor degraded Indian to the tombs of his great and renowned Fathers. O, it seems to me that were Homer among us, he would choose as his theme some legend of this people.

Our orators but speak of Maratt and Themopylae and the fire of patriotism burns brighter in our breasts. The Mussulman yearly goes up to the shrine of the prophet. A few centuries since all Europe were on the march to the Holy Sepulchre; and we raise a monument to Heaven at Bunker Hill. But how mean and insignificant and nothing all these feelings and offerings appear when compared with the journey of the Red Man to the graves of his renowned Fathers. To the child the holloch where rests a Mother is sacred, and he prays that the wind that blows and the storm that beats may not harm her holy resting place. But how different thy feelings, O man of the wild wood! Thou thinkest of thy fathers' glory and might, and thy littleness. Thou fearest lest they, from their long home, look down upon thee as unworthy.

I have seen a people forsaking their avocations and accompanying to the tomb the corpse of one who had been their idol: I have heard the solemn step, and the minute gun, and the melancholy toll of the bell, yet in my heart I thanked God that this mighty mind had been so long preserved to the country, and that the people had not proved ungrateful. I have sorrowed at the grave of beauty and worth, yet in time I forgot myself and thought only of her the memory of whose virtues was as the evening twilight pleasing to my soul. But the wretchedness of the Red Man can never to my mind be as a dream that is past.

We merely state the facts. We can attempt no description. However willing, we may not obtrude our sentiments and fancies. Let each hearer have his own imaginings and tell us if midst all the horrible which he has ever conjured up in the depths of earth, on sea, or in mid air, aught more terrible to the feelings has ever presented itself.

But hark! did'st thou hear the report of a gun and the cry of the eagle? Some cruel sportsmen have fallen in with one of these birds. And yet another gun! Look, there flutters and falls the monarch of the air. He falls within a few feet of The Red Man. In a moment the joyous sportsmen are at hand and soon extinguish the remaining spark



Seventh Anniversary

OF THE

PHILOMATHEAN SOCIETY,

IN THE

UNIVERSITY CHAPEL,

ON

WEDNESDAY EVENING, MARCH 11, 1840,

AT SEVEN O'CLOCK.

MUSIC.

1. Presidential Addresses. — C. H. A. Bulkley.

MUSIC.

2. Destiny of the West. — Wm. Van Wyck.

MUSIC.

3. Enthusiasm. — Wm. E. Trask.

MUSIC.

4. Ceylon. — Henry M. Scudder.

MUSIC.

5. Poem—Eloise. — William Salter.

MUSIC.

6. Genius. — Alfred Wheeler.

MUSIC.

7. Powerful Impulse. — Thos. H. Skinner, Jr.

MUSIC.

8. Judah. — A. O. Vermilye.

MUSIC.

9. Life, Character and Genius of L. L. Da Ponte. — D. E. Sickles.

MUSIC.

WENDT. PRINT.

Facsimile of the program of the Philomathian Society for its meeting of March 11, 1840, on which William Salter's name appears.

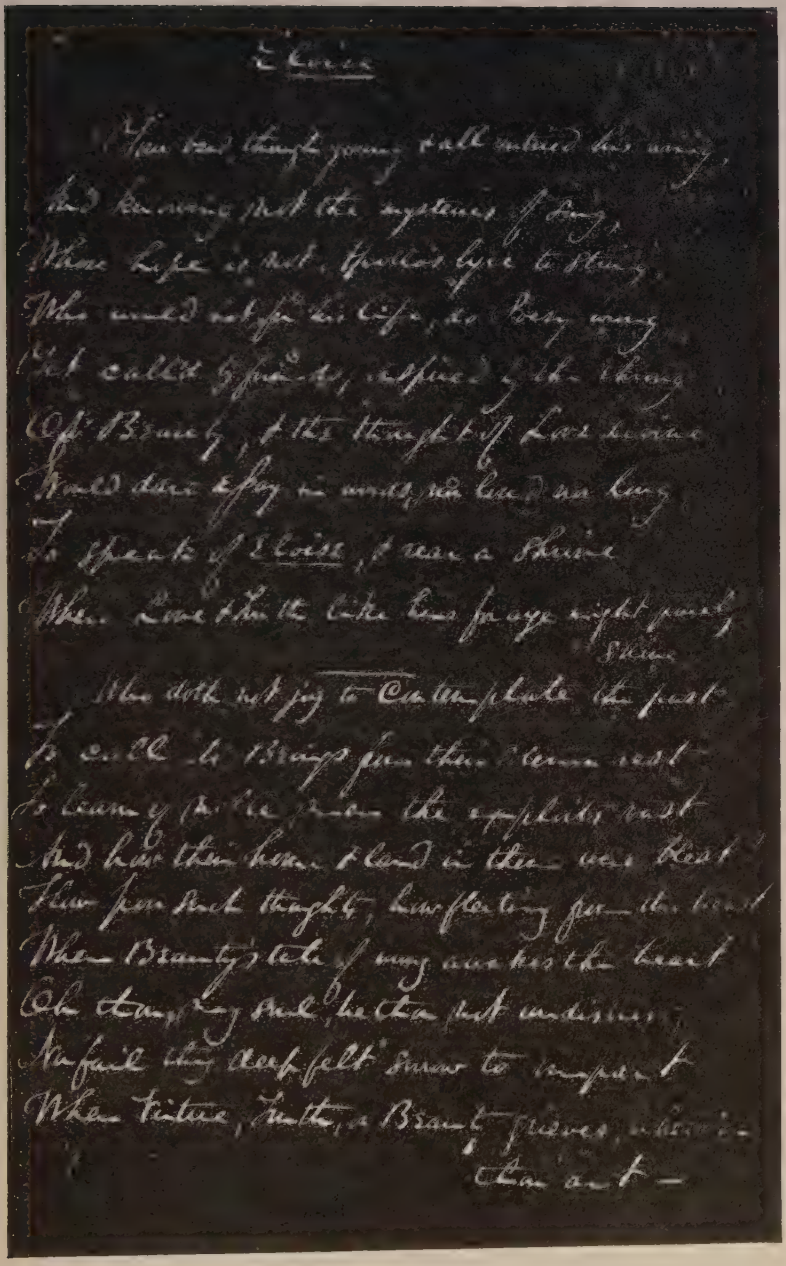
of life. "Ah! Cruel!," exclaimed the Red Man, "the omen of my own doom." He fled swift as the thought, nor ever again heard we the rough utterance of that tongue.

Sadly we descended. The shades of evening were fast falling round us when we reached our hotel. The story of our excursion was soon made known through the neighborhood. There were a thousand surmises. But on the next day at sunset we heard that the body of the Indian had been discovered at the foot of a very steep precipice near the base of the Hill. The next morning early we went forth with a few farmers and having found the body and clad it becomingly bore it in a rough coffin to a spot where rested his ancestors. We buried him, and over his grave heaped a pile of stones and at his feet planted a young [here the author left a space to later fill in the correct name of the tree, but this was never done]. While thus engaged a flock of eagles floated over our heads uttering a melancholy cry. Whether the Red Man slipped in descending the percipice, or in madness threw himself headlong down is left to conjecture. The next day we bent our faces homeward. About the close of the month we noticed in the newspapers that one of the chiefs of the Canada Indians was missing. The form and stature and appearance mentioned clearly proved that he whose sad fate we have recorded was sangaquamany the last of the descendants of those Indians who during the French War which preceded the Revolution were taken captives by a force of French and Indians who penetrated into New Hampshire at that time with the intention of attacking the coast settlements, but being distressed by want of provisions were compelled to retreat. These prisoners, as is the custom with some tribes, intermarried with their captors.

ELOISE[18]

Your bard, though young and all untried his wing,
And knowing not the mysteries of song,
Whose hope is not Apollo's lyre to string,
Who would not, for his life, do Poesy wrong;
Yet called by friends, inspired by the throng
Of Beauty, and the thought of Love divine,
Would dare essay in words, nor loud nor long,
To speak of *Eloise*, and rear a shrine
Where Love and Truth like her's for aye might purely shine.

[18]Presented at the anniversary program, held in the University Chapel, on the evening of March 11, 1840. *Vid.* the program which is here reproduced and also the page of manuscript reproduced. As near as can be determined this is the only poetry which Dr. Salter *ever* wrote. For that reason alone the "*Eloise*" is important. The back of the original manuscript is covered with notes relating to Eloise and Abelard, and citations to *Bayle's Dictionary* and *The Westminster Review*. In the body of the manuscript there are two lines of a stanza reading: "Her loveliness increased as years went by. Each summer showing riper bloom of"—and here it beaks abruptly. A note beneath says: "Omitted in speaking." The rest of the poem I have reprinted with no intentional emendations.



Facsimile of the first page of the original manuscript of Dr. Salter's poem, "Eloise."

Who doth not joy to contemplate the past,
To call its Beings from their solemn rest,
To learn of noble men the exploit's vast,
And how their home and land in them were blest?
How from such thoughts, how fleating from the breast,
When Beauty's tale of wrong awakens the heart!
Oh thou, my soul, be thou not undistrest,
No fail thy deep felt sorrow to impart
When Virtue, Truth, or Beauty grieves, whereen than out.

When Knowledge had no home but cloistered cell,
When Peace had left this warring world awhile,
When *Moslem* in the Holy Land did dwell,
Which *He* with rites most cursed dared defile,
Whom, in an honest fight, a treacherous wile,
The Christian sought to vanquish; in that time
When Joy and Hope shed out their angel smile,
When Poesy hied to her heights sublime
Leaving the world in night of ignorance and crime.

Then as a single star amod cloud and storm,
Or dream of Peace in gloomy night of woe
Lived Eloise—whose fair and noble form
Enclosed a soul surpassing human show,
Whose greatest sin was this world not to know.
I may not speak her Beauty, though it was
The homage of all hearts, both high and low,
For we, of wiser days, such thoughts must shun,
Though in the heads of youth they will forever run.

But I will speak the beauty of her soul,
Which doth not sleep with her in silent tomb,
But is a spirit, free, above control
Of this mean world where so much woe finds room,
Where if a moment's joy dispels the gloom
We bless the years of life and call them good,
Nor think how fast we haste to meet our doom,
Judging the while that it may be withstood,
Though all the Past are gone—our own similitude.

His is the Beauty which the Poet loves,
And her's the spirit that attends his dreams,
Fit only to be sung in sacred groves,
Or still retreats, by gentle murm'ing streams,
Or where the Light of Love sheds round its beams.
In Youth she learned the lore of ancient days,
Which howe'er strange to modern time it seems,
Methinks was wise and worthy noblest praise,
Say, why should ye neglect to seek for Wisdom's ways?

The wonder of his age was Abelard,
Great fame had he for philosophic lore
And deep research: withal a gentle Bard
Whose verses maidens sung on every shore.
Crowds hung upon his lips—oh he could soar
In Eagle's flight above the sross of earth,
As wooing Plato, in the days of yore,
Neath groves of Academie, gave beauteous birth
To Truths, compared with which all else were nothing worth.

The years roll on—but ah—what change is this!
Where is the Joy, the brightness of her prime?
Doth fade so fast the hope of earthly bliss?
And thus doth die the bloom of summer time?
And is it so in every age and clime?
Lo—Eloise—how sorrowful and pale!
How sad thine eyes—thy majesty sublime
How changed—why doth thou hie to secret vale,
Why blew then so wild Misfortune's bitter gale?

The tale is often told, and told so well
That words of mine would take its charm away,
And though I live in themes like this to dwell,
And long had hoped to build a better lay
Worthy my theme, and all this bright array
Of Beauty—yet—ye know, in College Halls
Stern Wisdom holds an undisputed sway,
The song of luckless Bard her form appals,
And hard she frowns at him if he neglect her calls.

As two concordant bells give one sweet chime,
So Eloise and Abelard—one fame
Have they, undimmed up flight of wasting time,
Not till shall pass away the glorious name
Of strong tried Love, and Constancy the same
Through Woe and Death, till maids forget their love
And men their youth, and Bard his hope of fame,
Shall human hearts in sorrow fail to move,
Though e'en in sympathy they may not all approve.

So dies the very best of earthly things.
Who would not have a more enduring Joy?
Who doth not cry—Good angels, give me wings
To soar above this mass of dust, this this try,
All hail you Heav'n—hail bliss without alloy.
Thenceforth I'm not content to starve my soul,
And eat of husks, though other men enjoy.
I'd gain no lower good than God, the goal
Of all things, whom to love, be of my life the whole.

These, then, are all the known manuscripts of Dr. Salter's undergraduate days at New York University. There remains but little more to be said, and this concerns one invitation upon which Dr. Salter's name appears, and the date of his resignation from the Society.

An undated invitation addressed to the Council of the University of the City of New York asks the council members to attend the annual oration of the Philomethian and Eucleian societies on the evening of the sixteenth at eight o'clock.[19] The year was 1837. The invitation is signed by the Committee on Invitation, of which Dr. Salter was one.

On May 29, 1840, the records show that Dr. Salter resigned from the Society.[20] This date was just in advance of his graduation from the university. The resignation was not due, in my judgment, to any difficulties which occured within the Society, but was occasioned by the fact that Salter left the university before his commencement in order to accept a teaching position in the Norwalk Academy at South Norwalk, Connecticut. Here he remained for six months and then he entered the Union Theological Seminary in New York City. From this point his history is rather well known—his graduation from Andover September 5, 1843, his instructions from the Home Missionary Society to take up his work in the Territory of Iowa, his first sermon, preached October 29, 1843, in a little room over the blacksmith shop in Keosauqua, his parish duties in Maquoketa during the years 1844-1846, and his pastorate of the First Congregational Church of Burlington from March 15, 1846, until his death sixty-four years later.[21]

Long Island University.
Brooklyn, New York.

[19]This letter is on file in the library of New York University. The oration was to be delivered by Charles Eames.

[20]*R. B.* p. 4.

[21]See *Dictionary of American Biography* for summary of his life. The ANNALS OF IOWA (Third Series) are most helpful containing, as they do, a wealth of Salter material.

ANNALS OF IOWA

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT

WILLIAM LOUDEN, INVENTOR AND MANUFACTURER

William Louden was born in Cassville, Huntingdon County, Pennsylvania, October 16, 1841, and died in Fairfield, Iowa, November 5, 1931. Burial was in Evergreen Cemetery, Fairfield. His parents, Andrew and Jane (Speer) Louden, in 1842 removed with their family to a farm in Jefferson County, Iowa, seven miles southeast of Fairfield. William acquired his education in country schools and in Fairfield University, a school long since abandoned.

After teaching school a few terms he engaged in farming, but his talent for mechanics and invention led him into efforts to improve tools and contrivances used by farmers and in 1870 he removed to Fairfield and established a small factory for making barn fixtures. His first patent (1867) was for a hay carrier, which came into use quite generally all over the country. From 1871 to 1876 his little factory prospered, but the hard times of that period were disastrous to him, rendering him penniless. For the next several years he traveled over the country putting up his hay carriers, and in 1883 he re-established his factory. In 1889 his brother, R. B. Louden, and in 1892 Charles J. Fulton, joined with him in organizing the Louden Machinery Company, which later established branches in various parts of the United States and Canada. The company made everything in barn equipment, and came to be recognized throughout the country as the leader in this line, especially in dairy articles.

Mr. Louden also led in the organization and development of the Iowa Malleable Iron Company of Faireld, and was a director and president of the Fairfield Chautauqua. In his active career he was awarded 118 different patents on farm and factory devices, and by his talent, energy and enterprise contributed materially to the welfare of agriculture.

The *Country Gentleman* for January, 1932, betokened in the

following language the respect in which the agricultural country at large held Mr. Louden:

WILLIAM LOUDEN

Nearly everyone who works in a barn provided with modern labor-saving equipment has reason to regret the passing of William Louden, of Fairfield, Iowa. His inventions for use in the barn were on the same plane as those of McCormick, John Deere and others in the field.

The first hay carrier was manufactured by him in a little shop on his father's Iowa farm. He invented the first flexible barndoor hanger, the principle of which is used in practically every door hanger today. From his efforts came the first patented manure carrier, as well as many other now commonly used devices that have made work in the barn quicker and easier. And many farmers owe the good construction and convenience of their barns to the barn-planning service which he established and made free to all who needed it.

There was still another distinctive feature to William Louden's career. His business, by then growing nicely, was swept completely away in the prolonged panic that began in 1873. Despite the gloomy counsel of others he began all over again, with a firm faith in himself, his country and the work he was doing. The country needs his kind and his spirit now.

THE VERNON WOOLEN FACTORY

On Monday last we had the pleasure of taking a tramp through the extensive woolen mills of Allender & Ketchum of Vernon. Although a resident of the town, it had been over a year since we had taken a view of the interior of the establishment, since which time it has been almost wholly fitted out with new machinery of the latest improved patterns adopted to the most exquisite manipulations of the fibre. * * * * * What most interested us was to see the amount and variety of machinery, pickers, fullers, carding machines, spinning jacks, looms and dressing machines. They have three spinning jacks in operation and will soon have eleven looms going, with a capacity for turning out about 2,000 yards of cloth per week.—The *Bentonsport Signal*, Bentonsport, Iowa, April 23, 1868. (In the Newspaper Division of the Historical, Memorial and Art Department of Iowa.)

NOTABLE DEATHS

Thomas A. Cheshire was born in Pleasant Township, Poweshiek County, Iowa, three or four miles northwest of Montezuma on April 2, 1854, and died at the home of his daughter, Mrs. Clifford Paul, at Anamosa, on December 22, 1931. Funeral services were held at the residence on his farm ten miles east of Grinnell, and burial was at Malcom. His parents were John Wesley and Grace Melinda (Vestal) Cheshire. He attended school in the log schoolhouse near their home, but when he was ten years old the family having removed to Montezuma he completed the course in the graded schools there, after which he attended Iowa (now Grinnell) College, and later the State University of Iowa, but owing to ill health he did not complete a liberal arts course. When seventeen years old he entered the office of the *Montezuma Republican* and served an apprenticeship of three years. He then entered the Law School of the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor and in two years, or in 1876, was graduated with the degree of LL. B. and began practice in Montezuma, but in 1877, owing to the death of his father, who was owner of the *Republican,* he became part owner and the editor. In 1880 he relinquished that and resuming the practice of law became the junior member of the firm of Clark & Cheshire. In 1886 he removed to Des Moines, practiced law alone about four years, then became a member of the firm of Cole, McVey & Cheshire, which some three years later became McVey & Cheshire, but after 1896 he was alone in the practice. From 1890 to January 1, 1895, he was an assistant attorney general under John Y. Stone. The fall of 1893 he was elected senator and was re-elected in 1897, and served in the Twenty-fifth, Twenty-sixth, Twenty-sixth Extra (Code Revision), Twenty-seventh and Twenty-eighth general assemblies. Mr. Cheshire was a man of outstanding ability as a lawyer, as a legislator, and as a political speaker. Both in Poweshiek County in his early life and later in Des Moines he was in demand during campaigns. He was allied with the Progressive wing of the Republican party and did valiant service in the Cummins campaigns. The very extensive private library he left, over 3,000 volumes of law books, and a large number of scientific and miscellaneous books, give further evidence of the erudition and culture of the man.

Donald Macrae, Jr., was born in Council Bluffs, Iowa, January 24, 1870, and died in that city January 11, 1932. Interment was in Walnut Hill Cemetery, Council Bluffs. His parents were Dr. Donald Macrae, Sr., and Charlotte (Douchette) Macrae. He attended public school in his home city, and later, Lake Forest College, Lake Forest, Illinois, and Morgan Park Military Academy, Morgan Park, Illinois, was two years a student at the State University of Iowa, Iowa City, and then entered the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, from which he was graduated in 1891 with the degree of M. D. He then engaged in the general prac-

tice of medicine in Council Bluffs. In 1898 on the outbreak of the Spanish-American War he was appointed first lieutenant and assistant surgeon of the Fifty-first Iowa Volunteer Infantry and sent to the Philippines where he was in active service eighteen months when he resigned, returned home and resumed practice, devoting himself largely to surgery in which he achieved distinction. In the World War he organized Unit K, Mobile Hospital No. 1, which was composed of doctors and enlisted men and women from Council Bluffs and vicinity. He was appointed lieutenant colonel and commander of the unit, which became a pattern which the government followed with other units. For his service in France he was awarded the Croix de Guerre, and the distinguished service medal from the United States. Returning home he added to his reputation as a surgeon. For ten years he was professor of anatomy in the Medical Department of the University of Nebraska at Omaha. He served as secretary of the Missouri Valley Medical Society, was president of the Iowa State Medical Society, and held membership in many other medical associations. He was mayor of Council Bluffs from 1904 to 1907, was on the Board of Education for a time, and was an enthusiastic promoter of many local enterprises.

Andrew B. Thornell was born in Monroe County, New York, October 22, 1846, and died at Sidney, Iowa, February 13, 1932. He grew to manhood at the place of his birth, and was educated at Geneseo Wesleyan Seminary, Lima, New York; Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois; Tabor College, Tabor, Iowa; and the Law Department of the State University of Iowa, being a member of the law class of 1874-75. He was admitted to the bar at Sidney in March, 1775, and began practice there that year in partnership with E. H. Sears. Later he joined in the practice with George E. Draper, which partnership continued until he was elected district attorney of the Nineteenth Judicial District. He began his service as district attorney in January, 1885, and served two years. The fall of 1886 he was elected judge in the newly created Fifteenth District, and took his seat as judge in January, 1887, and by reason of re-elections served thirty years, or until he resigned January 31, 1917, to enter private practice at Sidney with his son, A. V. Thornell. He continued in active practice until near his death. Both as a christian gentleman and as an officer, he was highly regarded by the public. He seemed to have those admirable qualities that go to make a good judge.

David Sands Wright was born on a farm in Highland County, Ohio, December 7, 1847, and died in Cedar Falls, Iowa, October 30, 1931. Interment was in Fairview Cemetery, Cedar Falls. He was of Quaker parentage. His education was begun in a log schoolhouse and during his boyhood was in country school. He began teaching in country schools in 1866. He was graduated from the National Normal University at Lebanon, Ohio, with the degree of B. A. in 1871, and M. A. in 1873.

In 1884 Penn College, Oskaloosa, Iowa, conferred on him the degree of M. A. In 1872 he became associate principal of Whittier College, Salem, Iowa, but on the organization of the Iowa State Normal School at Cedar Falls in 1876 he became a member of its first faculty, and for four years taught grammar and English. From 1880 to 1915 he taught mathematics, and from 1915 until his retirement in 1928, he was director of religious education in what had years before become the Iowa State Teachers College. Thus for fifty-two years he was on the faculty of that institution. On his retirement he was made professor emeritus. He was the author of "Geometrical Outlines," "A Drill Book in English Grammar," and of "Bible Study Outlines," and was known as an eloquent and forceful public speaker.

George Royal was born at Alford, Massachusetts, July 15, 1853, and died in Des Moines, Iowa, December 27, 1931. Burial was in Woodland Cemetery. His parents were Ambrose and Adelaide Mary (Buchner) Royal. He was graduated from New York Homeopathic Medical College in 1882. In 1883 he removed to Des Moines and engaged in the practice of medicine. From 1892 to 1922 he was professor of materia medica in the State University of Iowa. He was the author of a text book, "Homeopathic Materia Medica" (1920), and of "Practice of Medicine" (1923), and "Homeopathic Therapy of Diseases of Brain and Nerves" (1928). He was editor of the *Iowa Homeopathic Journal* from 1918 to 1924. He was a member of many medical societies, and not only stood high in his profession, but as a citizen. He was a prominent member of Plymouth Congregational church, Des Moines.

A. Ray Maxwell was born at Prescott, Adams County, Iowa, July 29, 1877, and died in Creston, January 4, 1932. Burial was at Corning. His parents were Judge Thomas L. and Lucy A. (Fish) Maxwell. His parents having removed to Creston, Ray attended the grade schools there, and later when they lived in Des Moines he was graduated from high school in that city. He also took a liberal arts course at Drake University, and was graduated from the Drake Law School in 1900 and at once engaged in practice in Corning, joining in partnership with his father as Maxwell & Maxwell. In November, 1912, he was elected county attorney of Adams County and was re-elected at the four following elections, serving over nine years, or until he was appointed February 27, 1922, by Governor Kendall a judge of the Third Judicial District to succeed Judge Winter, resigned. Judge Maxwell continued serving in that position until his death.

Herbert R. Wright was born in Marshalltown, Iowa, August 15, 1872, and died in Des Moines December 27, 1931. Burial was at Marshalltown. He attended public school in the city of his birth and was graduated from the Law Department of the State University of Iowa in the class of 1901, being one of two Negro graduates of that class, the other being S. Joe Brown now of Des Moines. Mr. Wright then

located in Des Moines and engaged in practice. Two years later, or in 1903, he was appointed by President Roosevelt as United States consul at Utilla, Honduras. He followed his service there by being consul at Puerto Cabello, Venezuela, until 1918, thus serving under three administrations, Roosevelt, Taft and Wilson. He then returned to Des Moines and resumed his law practice, following it until near his death.

Austin Bruce Garretson was born at Winterset, Iowa, September 14, 1856, and died in Cedar Rapids February 27, 1931. His parents were Nathan and Hannah Garretson. His education was chiefly obtained in the public schools of Osceola. In youth he was apprenticed to a wheelwright. He entered railroad work as station agent at New Virginia, Warren County, on the Des Moines, Osceola & Southern, now belonging to the Burlington system. He later opened as agent the stations from Osceola to Des Moines and followed that by becoming a conductor on that line. In 1881 he removed to Denison, Texas, and served as a conductor on the Missouri, Kansas & Texas, later on the Mexican National, and still later on the Mexican Central railways. In 1889 he removed to Cedar Rapids and entered the service of the Order of Railway Conductors. He was initiated into that order in 1884, soon became an active member, was made assistant grand chief conductor in 1888, and continued to hold important positions in the order until in 1906 when E. E. Clark, grand chief conductor (soon thereafter to be called president), was appointed a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission, Mr. Garretson was appointed to that position which he held until 1919, and on his retirement was advisory counsel of the order until he was pensioned. He exercised great influence in the field of organized labor. In 1916 he was chief spokesman for all the brotherhoods in their victorious fight for the eight-hour law. He was editor-in-chief of the *Railway Conductor*, and was a member of the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations from 1912 to 1915.

James Harvey Jamison was born in Franklin Township, Clarke County, Iowa, March 11, 1859, and died in Des Moines February 11, 1932. Burial was in Maple Hill Cemetery, Osceola. His parents were Robert and Christena (Kyte) Jamison. He was educated in the Osceola High School, the Garden Grove Academy, and was graduated from Valparaiso Normal School in 1880. He read law with McIntire Brothers, Osceola, and on May 14, 1890, was admitted to the bar and began practice as a member of the firm of McIntire Brothers & Jamison. In 1896 he became the senior member of the firm of Jamison & Park. In 1891 he was elected senator and served in the Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth assemblies. Again in 1903 he was elected senator and served in the Thirtieth, Thirty-first and Thirty-second assemblies, having one extra session because of the adoption of the biennial election amendment. He proved to be an industrious and efficient legislator. During the latter part of his service he gave his attention largely to insurance matters and was the author of several very important acts which be-

came laws relating to insurance companies. In 1913 he became president of the Western Life Insurance Company of Des Moines and so remained until the consolidation of the company with the Royal Union Life Insurance Company of Des Moines in 1924. Mr. Jamison was a member and an elder of Central Presbyterian church, Des Moines.

Willis G. Bonner was born in Webster City, Iowa, February 16, 1878, and died in Des Moines October 13, 1931. Burial was at Webster City. He was a son of Andrew S. and Phebe E. (Skinner) Bonner. After being graduated from the Webster City High School he read law in the office of Daniel Cady Chase of Webster City. He was admitted to the bar in 1907 and entered practice in Des Moines having offices with Fred L. Groesbeck and with R. L. Parish and C. C. Dowell, who constituted the firm of Parish & Dowell. In 1918 Governor Harding appointed him a judge of the Municipal Court of Des Moines and in 1922 he was elected a judge of the District Court of Polk County, which position he was occupying at the time of his death.

Ernest C. Hamilton was born near Peru, Madison County, Iowa, August 1, 1889, and died at Mount Pleasant October 20, 1931. Burial was at Winterset. Soon after his birth the family removed to Winterset. He was graduated from Winterset High School in 1910, and from the State University of Iowa in 1914 with the degree of B. A. He then engaged in the real estate business at Winterset with his father, J. E. Hamilton. In the later years of his life he was an active farmer. In the World War he was in the Aircraft Production, being located at Kelly Field, Texas, and later at Buffalo, New York. He was a delegate to the Democratic National Convention in 1924. June 16, 1924, Governor Kendall appointed him to fill the vacancy on the State Board of Parole caused by the resignation of J. R. Murphy, and he served until June 30, 1929.

John D. Shaffer was born in Black Hawk County, Iowa, May 18, 1858, and died in Elgin, Fayette County, June 27, 1931. He attended public school, was two terms at Western College, and two terms at Upper Iowa University. He followed farming and the breeding of Percheron horses and Shorthorn cattle. He was also interested in banking, being at one time vice president of the Wadena Savings Bank, and later was president of the Elgin Savings Bank. He was assessor of his township, was a member of the Fayette County Board of Supervisors for six years, and was elected representative in 1903 and served as a member of the Thirtieth, Thirty-first and Thirty-second general assemblies.

D. Millard Gibson was born in Osceola, Iowa, September 11, 1868, and died near that city June 1, 1930. His parents were E. P. and Edith Millard Gibson. He was reared on a farm near Osceola, was educated

in rural school, Osceola High School, Simpson College, and received a business course in Highland Park College. He followed the vocation of farming until a few years before his death, when he retired. He held positions in township government, was an active worker in the Farm Bureau organization, was president of the Iowa State Bank of Osceola, was elected representative in 1920, re-elected in 1922, and served in the Thirty-ninth and Fortieth general assemblies.

John B. Truax was born in Jonesborough, Indiana, February 14, 1859, and died in Independence, Iowa, November 19, 1930. He was with his parents, Isaac and Anna Truax, in their removal to a farm in Buchanan County, Iowa, in 1864. He attended public school, engaged in farm work and other labor, clerked in a general store in Hazleton several years, and in 1892 was elected county recorder of Buchanan County, in which position he served twenty years. Following that he was engaged in the abstract business at Independence until 1923. In 1924 he was elected representative, and was re-elected in 1926 and 1928, serving in the Forty-first, Forty-second and Forty-third general assemblies.

Henry Linn Pierce was born at Belleville, Illinois, March 19, 1867, and died at Freeport, Illinois, May 1, 1930. Burial was at Stockton, Illinois. When a mere boy he removed with his father, his mother having died, to Clay County, Iowa. He attended public school, and Spencer High School, taught school several terms, and in 1891 entered the employ of C. L. Ward in the Bank of Linn Grove at Linn Grove, Buena Vista County. On Mr. Ward's death in 1918 Mr. Pierce continued the bank until 1926. For twenty-one years he was secretary of the Linn Grove School Board, was elected representative in 1906 and served in the Thirty-second General Assembly, and also served as a member of the Board of Supervisors of Buena Vista County in 1925 and 1926. His last few years were spent in Freeport, Illinois.

Charles C. Hamilton was born in Macon City, Missouri, January 12, 1861, and died in Sioux City, Iowa, September 17, 1931. His parents, Mr. and Mrs. J. H. Hamilton, removed their family to Omaha, and finally to Sioux City, where they located in 1866. Charles C., after being graduated from public school in Sioux City, was graduated from the Law Department of the State University of Iowa in 1883. He at once took up the duties of a district court reporter and followed that vocation for thirty-seven years, or until 1920, serving under several different judges of his home district, the Fourth Judicial District. On August 6, 1920, Governor Harding appointed him judge to fill the unexpired term of Judge John W. Anderson, resigned. By reason of elections he was still serving at the time of his death.